

BUILDING BOYS, BUILDING CANADA:
THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT IN CANADA, 1908-1970

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Abstract

This dissertation examines Canada's largest organization for boys of the twentieth century - the Boy Scouts. In *Scouting for Boys* [1908], Robert Baden Powell argued that Scouting provided a universal model for countries of the British Empire to develop the physical, mental and spiritual development of boys. The process of transplanting Baden-Powell's movement to Canada led to the establishment of two separate organizations, divided along linguistic and religious lines. The movement also extended its reach to the Canadian North as missionaries and government officials adopted the movement in residential and day schools across the country.

The Canadian Scout movement provides a compelling lens to understand how language, religion, race and class shaped the construction of Canadian boyhoods. This dissertation taps into the archival records of the Boy Scout movement, Canadian churches, state records, and private collections from the 1910s through to the 1960s to examine the motivations, objectives and tensions within the Scout movement's network of institutional and cultural support. It argues that, as part of the frequent renewal of masculinities, Scouting and its supporters embraced the modern and the antimodern in order to shore up, revive, or reinvigorate masculinities that were deemed to be threatened.

Perceptions of what boys needed were not always complementary and reflected broader religious, linguistic and racial assumptions and expectations about masculinity. The relationship between Scouting and Canadian churches, for instance, was fluid - reflecting a more complicated picture of religiosity in the postwar period than existing scholarship has considered. The relationship between French-Canadian and English-Canadian Scouting was also complex and symptomatic of larger shifting relationships between the French-Canadian diaspora, Quebec and

English-speaking Canada. Northern nationalists, meanwhile, latched onto the Scout movement as a means of promoting particular “ideas of north” for southern boys and northern Aboriginal and Inuit boys. These different supporters were, however, tied together by a shared desire to mitigate the perceived “feminizing” effects of modern life through a “modernizing antimodernism.” Masculinity’s ties to political and social citizenship remained strong well into the 1960s as Scouting’s coalition of supporters sustained the belief that building better boys was the key to building a better Canada.

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Introduction

In October of 1930 the Canadian Boy Scout Association's official magazine for leaders featured a story about a Scout camping trip by a United Church Scout troop from Wellington, Ontario. Like many Scout outings of the period, the trip featured evenings of campfire songs, games and a short talk by a Scout leader or chaplain, in this case local minister Rev. W.J.H. Smith. Smith held "the close and appreciative attention of camping Scouts," with a talk called "Automobile Religion."¹ He compared a man's religious faith and character to the various parts of the automobile; the engine for instance was likened to the human mind and personality, needing constant attention and maintenance. "Keep the engine strong and clean and ready for efficient work," he counseled his young charges. The carburetor, he argued, was "that line from man to Maker," and may become "choked by bad habits, bad company, carelessness, etc., so that life's progress may be hindered." The wheels, he then suggested, represented the routine of life, running through every day responsibilities and duties. Finally, the battery contained "the spark necessary for the life of the motor," and this spark in boys' lives was the power of faith and grace:

So in each human life God has implanted a spark of the divine, a bit of Himself. The battery of life needs charging by good living. All need the fire of God. Canada and civilization are waiting for the men fitted for the task and with the fire of character in their souls. Such men are sure of success, and training when (sic) boys in such a fine organization as the Scout Movement helps to fit for such a life.²

Smith's comparison of a person's soul to the various parts of an automobile was an attempt to connect boys to a manly and efficient sense of faith; it was also part of an ongoing effort to teach boys that their futures were linked to that of their country - they should lead it and shape its future as full citizens. The Canadian Boy Scout movement, which had taken root in Canada

¹ "The Scoutmaster's Five Minutes - A Sunday 'Automobile Talk'," *The Scout Leader*, October, 1930, 22.

² Ibid.

almost immediately after the first Scout camp was held at Brownsea Island in England in 1907, grew quickly to become one of the largest boys' movements in the country, maintaining that status throughout most of the twentieth century. Canadian religious leaders and missionaries, government officials, educators and "boy experts" all latched onto the Scout method of grouping boys together to satisfy boys' "gang instinct" and offered skill training through badge work and contact with nature through camping and hiking. At its peak in the mid-1960s, the movement boasted over 250,000 youth involved in its various program levels, encompassing roughly 15% of the Canadian male population of Scouting age - a percentage unequalled by any other youth movement.³ With such numerical and geographic strength (the movement reached boys from coast to coast to coast throughout the twentieth century), the Scout movement was a key institution in the construction of Canadian boyhood.

From its expansion into Canada in 1907-1908 to the late 1960s, Scouting's leadership consistently promoted the movement as a vehicle to address Canada's changing social and political needs. These needs were invariably framed in a gendered context, where the development of boys into manly citizens was inextricably linked to the health of the nation, while girls were groomed for a different, feminine form of citizenship. Rev. Smith's use of a profoundly modern piece of technology - the automobile - as a manly metaphor for masculine responsibility and faith also speaks to the range of modern and antimodern masculinities jostling for position within the movement. Scouting, as American historian Ben Jordan has shown, was used as a vehicle for shaping multiple masculinities in the twentieth century, forging what he called a "modest manliness," that could simultaneously embrace the rugged individualism of Victorian masculinity while adopting the corporate and team-based efficiency ethic of corporate

³ Figure cited from John Meisel and Vincent Lemieux, *Ethnic Relations in Canadian Voluntary Associations* (Ottawa: Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism - Documents, no. 13, 1972), 30. Scouting membership ranged from nine to eighteen years of age.

capitalism.⁴ In Canada, the Scout movement was subject to multiple interpretations of masculine utility. Politicians, French and English-Canadian nationalists, church leaders, “boy experts,” government bureaucrats, and many other influential Canadians championed the Scout movement in the early to mid-twentieth century in a shared, if not always united, hope of shaping future Canadian manhood. They all felt, in the words of one Scout fundraising campaign, that “Building Boys is better than mending Men,” and that the nation’s boys were “Canada’s Future...in Training.”⁵ However, they approached the challenge of training boys for manhood with unique needs and objectives. Understanding the motivations and objectives of the social and political institutions that adopted and championed Scouting in Canada in the twentieth century is the object of this dissertation.

This dissertation argues that the Canadian Boy Scout movement was a key institution in the construction of Canadian boyhoods in the early to mid twentieth century. The boyhoods constructed within Canadian Scouting were not, however, monolithic. A big reason for Scouting’s popularity in the twentieth century was its adoption by a variety of social and political institutions for varied, though not mutually exclusive, aims. Masculinity was a common concern to those invested in the Scout movement - boys were seen as the future of the church, nation(s) and the Canadian north - but this concern was rooted in broader concerns tied to faith, language, and assumptions about race. The perceived importance of building boys to build the nation, then, was a unifying force, but one that can and did reflect important racial, linguistic and religious differences.

⁴ Ben Jordan, “A Modest Manliness”: The Boy Scouts of America and the Making of Modern Masculinity, 1910-1930,” (PhD dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 2009).

⁵ Quoted in Greig, *Ontario Boys*, 73 and “Canada’s Future...in Training,” *Globe and Mail*, February 17, 1945.

The Boy Scout movement in Canada has been the focus of a range of scholars interested in discourses of nation, masculinity and boyhood in the early to mid twentieth century. Most of the existing scholarship, however, has relied heavily on official Scout publications or on newspaper editorial coverage of the movement. Few scholars have pierced through this discursive layer to consider the range of individuals and institutions that were essential in reinforcing Scouting's lasting strength in Canada throughout most of the twentieth century. Their common concern with the future of Canadian boys was coloured and differentiated by distinct worries over issues like the feminization of religion, the encroachment of "Anglo-Protestant" boy culture into French-Canadian Catholic culture and education, and mediating the growing intrusion of southern culture and economic imperatives into the lives of northern Aboriginal and Inuit populations.

Scouting's leadership and supporters during the roughly forty year span covered in this dissertation were entangled in broader social and political change in Canada, reacting to and working to shape it. Some larger social, political and cultural shifts can be measured within the movement's own development. A shift, for instance, from a more metaphorical interest in boys as the "the future" - be it the church, nation or north, to an increased focus on boys as "resources" that needed to be measured, managed, and prepared for modern manhood and citizenship. Abstract metaphors about boys as the future of the nation and about a rugged, pioneering masculinity did not disappear, but they co-existed alongside a more planned, bureaucratic impulse that exemplified the high modernism of the postwar era - the period of the mega-project and growing state.⁶ Scouting's organizational structure professionalized and

⁶ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1998). For Canadian examples of high modernism, see Matthew Farish and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "High Modernism in the Arctic: Planning Frobisher Bay and Inuvik," *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (2009): 517-544; Tina Loo and Meg Stanley, "An Environmental History of Progress:

increased its focus on tracking its membership numbers and assuring continual territorial expansion throughout this period of planned progress.

Through its consideration of the place of religion, nationalism, race, and the North in Canadian Scouting, this dissertation contributes to a number of historiographic fields. These research fields are connected by a broader interest in the history of childhood and masculinities. A common concern over boys and their development into men drew religious leaders, government bureaucrats, nationalists and others to the Scout movement and inspired them to work to make the movement the largest of its kind in the country. This concern with the development of boys into men as well as citizens of their church community, racial or linguistic group, and/or country tied the supporters of Scouting together and also acts as a connecting thread throughout this dissertation.

Gender History and Masculinities

The study of ideas and concerns about boyhood is fundamentally connected to broader discussions of gender. Gender is a profoundly relational construct - both between constructs of masculinity and femininity, which are contingent on separating men and women in a patriarchal system, and between understandings of femininity and masculinity based on race, class or ethnicity.⁷ Accordingly, historical interest in masculinities has grown considerably within the field of Canadian history.⁸ Historians of masculinity have paid particular attention to the power

Damming the Peace and Columbia Rivers," *The Canadian Historical Review* Vol. 92, No. 3 (September 2011): 399-427; Daniel Macfarlane, "A Completely Man- Made and Artificial Cataract": The Transnational Manipulation of Niagara Falls," *Environmental History* Vol. 18 (October 2013):759-784.

⁷ For more on the roots of gendered historical analysis that underpin this study, see Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988); Joy Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice," *The Canadian Historical Review* 16, 3 (1995): 354-376.

⁸⁸ See, for instance, Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2001); Dorothy Chunn, "Boys Will Be Men, Girls will be Mothers: The Legal Regulation of Childhood in Toronto and Vancouver," in *Histories of Canadian Children and Youth*, ed. Nancy Janovicek & Joy Parr (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2003), 188-206; Craig Heron, "Boys Will Be Boys: Working-Class Masculinities in the Age of Mass Production," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 69

dynamics involved in the construction and experience of masculine gender norms and authority. Raewyn Connell's theorization of hegemonic masculinity has been particularly influential in the study of masculinities and gender history.⁹ Connell defines hegemonic masculinity as the culturally dominant form, or construction, of masculinity that is built in relation to femininity and other subordinated and marginalized masculinities. She argues that hegemonic masculinity can be "defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women."¹⁰ American sociologist Michael Kimmel nuances this relational aspect of masculinity by observing that masculinity is often constructed in relation to "the 'idea' of women, or femininity – and most

(Spring 2006): 6-34; Jeffery Vacante, "The Search For Manhood: Locating Masculine Identity In Early Twentieth-Century Quebec." (PhD dissertation, The University of Western Ontario, 2005); Christopher Dummitt, *The Manly Modern: Masculinity in Postwar Canada* (Vancouver, UBC Press, 2007); Christopher J. Greig and Wayne J. Martino, eds., *Canadian Men and Masculinities: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Toronto : Canadian Scholars' Press, 2012); Christopher J. Greig, *Ontario Boys : Masculinity and the Ideas of Boyhood in Postwar Ontario, 1945-1960* (Waterloo, ON : Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2014). Earlier notable works in the field include: Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Steven Penfold, "'Have You No Manhood in You?': Gender and Class in the Cape Breton Coal Towns, 1920-1926," in *Gender and History in Canada*, ed. Joy Parr & Mark Rosenfeld (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd, 1996), 270-293; Steven Maynard, "'Horrible Temptations': Sex, Men, and Working-Class Male Youth in Urban Ontario, 1890-1935," *The Canadian Historical Review* 78, 2 (1997): 191-235;

⁹ R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995); R. W. Connell, *Gender and Power* (California: Stanford University Press, 1987); R.W. Connell, *The Men and the Boys* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000). For other important studies of masculinities in other contexts and periods, see also Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); M. Kimmel, *The Politics of Manhood* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998); John Tosh, "What Should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain," *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 38, no. 1 (1994): 179–202; John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999); John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Pearson Longman, 2005); John Tosh, "Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender," in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, eds. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004): 41-58; George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Martin Crotty, *Making the Australian Male: Middle-Class Masculinity, 1870-1920* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2001); Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

¹⁰ Connell, *Masculinities*, 11.

especially a perception of effeminacy by other men,” and not necessarily only concrete relationships with women.¹¹

Connell’s concept of hegemonic masculinity continues to hold considerable sway in scholarship focused on gender construction and theory.¹² It is, of course, a concept continuously under revision, and scholars, including Connell, have provided new perspective on the potential of considering masculinities and their relationships with and power over women and other racialized or otherwise marginalized masculinities.¹³ In a more recent iteration of her theory, Connell suggested a number of levels at which masculinities can be further studied:

Empirically existing hegemonic masculinities can be analyzed at three levels:

1. Local: constructed in the arenas of face-to-face interaction of families, organizations, and immediate communities, as typically found in ethnographic and life-history research;
2. Regional: constructed at the level of the culture or the nation-state, as typically found in discursive, political, and demographic research; and
3. Global: constructed in transnational arenas such as world politics and transnational business and media, as studied in the emerging research on masculinities and globalization.¹⁴

This research focuses on the local and regional/national levels described by Connell above, considering the competing and complementary organizations and individuals that worked within the Canadian Scout movement to shape Canadian masculinities. This dissertation focuses on the multiple concerns with masculinity that led to diverse masculine visions within the Scout movement; femininity, and the “threat of feminization” of boys was an important concern and informs some of the discussion here, but this project is primarily interested in exploring the many masculine concerns and worries represented within the Scout movement. It is thus not meant as an overtly comparative work, but rather a deeper analysis of masculinities within Canadian

¹¹ Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 5.

¹² For an impressive overview of the influence (and critiques) of the concept, in addition to a reframing of the approach, see R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept,” *Gender & Society* Vol. 19, No. 6 (December 2005): 829-859.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., 849.

Scouting which can, in turn inform further comparative study of Scouting and its feminine counterpart, Girl Guiding.

Men Perpetually in Crisis? Crises of Modern Masculinities and Antimodernism

An important thread within scholarship on masculinities is the concept of “crisis” points within masculinity. American historian Peter Stearns observed that “maleness has long been in crisis,” dating concerns over threats to masculinity to the reconceptualization of work and craft specialization in the Industrial Revolution.¹⁵ Other scholars have shown masculinities almost perpetually in crisis in much earlier periods.¹⁶ Christopher Dummitt notes that, in the Canadian context in particular, “Masculinity is a defensive category, the voice of tradition: it is what is being changed and never what is active, new, and modern.”¹⁷ He goes on to dismiss the utility of diagnosing a crisis, “To say that masculinity is ‘in crisis’ in any one historical era is to say very little.”¹⁸ Instead, he argues, various historical crises of masculinity should be historicized to consider how a “crisis” could be used as a moment or part of a “process of consolidating some men’s social power” over others.¹⁹ In his study of postwar Vancouver, this moment of “crisis” opens a door to consider the ongoing tensions experienced by men seeking to maintain their authority within a modern industrial society; their response was to adopt the “manly modern” where expertise and risk management were ascribed with gendered concepts of masculine authority.

¹⁵ Peter N. Stearns, *Be a Man! Males in Modern Society* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1979), 1.

¹⁶ Michael S. Kimmel, *The History of Men: Essays on the History of American and British Masculinities* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2005), 42-45; James Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1997); Andrew Dalby, *Empire of Pleasures: Luxuries and Indulgence in the Roman World* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Judith A. Allen, “Men Interminably in Crisis? Historians on Masculinity, Sexual Boundaries, and Manhood,” *Radical History Review*, no. 82 (Winter 2002): 191-207; Bryce Traister, “Academic Viagra : the Rise of American Masculinity Studies,” *American Quarterly* vol. 52, no. 2 (June 2000): 274-304.

¹⁷ Dummitt, *The Manly Modern*, 19.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

The “crises” and anxieties expressed about boyhood which percolated throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries provide a similar opening to consider the range of social, political and religious changes that converged to fuel both the anxiety and the proposed solutions. In his study of the discursive construction of postwar Ontario boyhood, Christopher J. Greig notes that authorities felt that “the traditional sources of ‘normal’ masculine role modelling – family, school, church, community – could not be counted upon,” in the age of the atomic bomb and modern consumption.²⁰ Like others who have studied the transition to a desired peace and stability in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Greig argues that the long years of social, economic and cultural instability brought on by the Depression and Second World War created an almost overwhelming desire for some form of return to normalcy and peace and a return to more “traditional” gender norms and family life.²¹ Boys were the object of special concern because national prosperity and citizenship continued to be interpreted through a gendered set of expectations. Greig notes that while there were also concerns about reasserting or renewing girlhood through organizations like the Girl Guides and other spaces of socialization, boys came under particular scrutiny because of their assumed role as future leaders:

The citizen-leader of the future, like that of the past, was gender defined. Citizenship was male by nature. In contrast, girls were expected and encouraged to adopt a “special kind” of citizenship characterized by their innate maternalism. In this brave new postwar world, active public citizenship continued to be depicted largely as a male duty, a duty best learned in boyhood. An ‘appropriate’ boyhood in the postwar period became, if nothing else, a metaphor for the survival of the nation, but a nation whose survival was contingent on male dominance in the historic patriarchal manner.²²

²⁰ Greig, *Ontario Boys*, x.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 9-16. For more on postwar social and cultural life and concerns over children, families and social stability, see Joy Parr, *Domestic Goods: The Material, the Moral, and the Economic in the Postwar Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*; Doug Owsram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby-Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Reginald Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-1967* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); Steve Hewitt and Reg Whitaker, *Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Lorimer, 2003); Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999);

²² Greig, *Ontario Boys*, x-xi.

Dummitt similarly contends that masculinities held symbolic and coercive power precisely because of their ties to modern citizenship. “As is so often the case in the history of masculinity,” Dummitt writes “men’s gendered identities were equated not with themselves as men but with a larger, seemingly ungendered category - in this case, the nation.”²³

This conflation of boys’ and men’s futures with that of the nation’s is a key focus of this project’s consideration of the Scout movement. Hegemonic masculinities were not uncontested, and many social and political forces sought to claim the potential masculine authority embodied in the Scout movement. What united the various supporters of Scouting was their understanding of the symbolic and material power Scouting’s masculine authority held. As Dummitt argues, modern masculinity “provided a source of gendered authority that could reach beyond these categories [class, race, or other criteria]; it positioned men and masculinity alongside the most dominant social force of these years, the modernist project. This was a privileged position that few were willing to turn their backs on completely.”²⁴ Beyond the “manly modern” described by Dummitt, “building boys” proved to be a powerful source of authority and social concern throughout the early to mid twentieth century. To play a role in “building boys” was to play a role in building Canada in a particularly gendered conception of modern citizenship.

This dissertation covers the period covering the rise and consolidation of the modernist project in the mid-twentieth century. Modernity, a multi-faceted and complex process encompasses the ongoing processes of industrialization, mass consumerism, and urbanization of the early to mid-twentieth century.²⁵ Dummitt defines modernity as “the belief in the rational control of nature, in the possibilities of planned progress, and in the skilful transformation of

²³ Dummitt, *The Manly Modern*, 30.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 158.

²⁵ John Jervis, *Exploring the Modern: Patterns in Western Culture and Civilization* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998); Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1990).

dangers into manageable risks.”²⁶ The construction of boyhood was caught between these forces of modernity and the need to maintain male authority in the modern process. Christopher Greig contends that modern postwar boyhood was constructed as a dualistic tension between more Victorian and Edwardian ideals of muscular masculinity and a more corporate oriented team-based masculinity necessary for the modern capitalist system. Best represented by William White’s, *The Organization Man*, this new corporate masculinity pushed postwar boy experts and leaders to seek a balance between these two competing “types” in their constructions of an ideal modern masculinity.²⁷ Dummitt argues that middle class white men recast themselves in a new “manly modern” frame that embraced expertise and technological efficiency, all while maintaining a connection to the more rugged form of masculinity.²⁸

This “doubled way” of modern masculinity was both a part of and a reaction to modernity. Dummitt subsequently connects what traditionally was associated with a reaction against modernism - rugged masculinity - as fundamentally entangled with modernity. Mountaineering, for instance, was a physical manifestation of the many middle class men’s’ refusal to live by the “Organization Man” ideal by using their bodies to reassert their mastery over nature. The practice of mountaineering was simultaneously entangled with the modernist project as British Columbia mountaineers applied scientific expertise and risk management to establish their authority over nature and define acceptable risk in the mountains.²⁹ To be modern was to be manly; it combined the “heart of rational, rules based modernity,” with its opposite of “the primal and experiential man.”³⁰

²⁶ Ibid., 2.

²⁷ Greig, *Ontario Boys.*, xxi-xxviii. See also, William H. White, *The Organization Man* (New York, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956).

²⁸ Dummitt, *The Manly Modern*, 20-21.

²⁹ Ibid., 77-100.

³⁰ Ibid., 97.

This entangled relationship between seemingly oppositional cultural trends was part of a longer pattern of accommodation and realignment to the forces of modernity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Antimodernism, often interpreted as a resistance to these changes, was in fact fundamentally part of the modernizing process. In his *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*, T.J. Jackson Lears argues that both in ‘Europe and America, the antimodern impulse was rooted in what can aptly be called a crisis of cultural authority,’ as elite and middle class men grappled with the disorienting effects of modernity on their assumed natural positions as social leaders.³¹ Their reaction to industrialization, urbanization, and mass culture could take many forms, argues Lears, including a renewed fascination with medieval chivalry and primitive or indigenous spiritualities. In not only idealizing, but seeking to experience the invigorating and emotional primitivism of medievalist culture, many Americans sought to return to a more primitive environment in the quest for ‘intensive experience,’ to be used as a temporary antidote to modern masculine *malaise*.³² It was, however, a response meant to mediate modernity, not overturn it. As Ian McKay argued in the context of his study of “folk” tourism in Nova Scotia, nostalgia for pre-modern pasts and experiences served as a type of “modernizing antimodernism,” helping to usher in modernity.³³

Antimodernism found a ready home in Canada, where Canadian nationalists have long tied assumed masculine identities to virtues bequeathed by the harsh climate.³⁴ Lears’ argument about the reactionary nature of antimodernism, however, is usually only incorporated into works

³¹ T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 5.

³² *Ibid.*, 157-160.

³³ Ian McKay, *Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994), 37.

³⁴ See, for example, Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 128-152; Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 136-162.

of Canadian cultural or environmental history.³⁵ Sharon Wall, in her recent study of summer camps in mid-twentieth century Ontario, argues that “the pull of the modern and antimodern were both essential aspects of the camp phenomenon.”³⁶ Wall explores the simultaneously modern and antimodern physical landscapes of summer camps, as well as their promotion and programming, to analyze how the “therapeutic” goal of sending kids to camp was tempered by questions of class and gender. Gendered and class-based expectations of what was healthy, as well as more antimodern fascination with primitivism (through “Playing Indian” for instance) were complemented by more modern child psychology and expertise. Wall contends that the complementary coexistence of the modern and the antimodern at camp made it “part of, not antithetical to [...] modern existence.”³⁷

As Wall, Greig and Dummit have shown, there was not a clear demarcation point between the antimodern and modern. Ultimately, modernity is a concept and experience infused with contradictions and entangled social and cultural forces, representing both continuity and change. Marshall Berman, in his classic *“All That is Solid Melts into Air”: The Experience of Modernity*, framed modern experience best when he described it as pouring “us all into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish.”³⁸ Scouting in the early to mid-twentieth century embraced this disintegration and renewal on multiple fronts, seeking rugged new frontiers such as the Canadian North for its renewal while applying a modernizing antimodernist lens to programming revisions in the

³⁵ For example: Ross D. Cameron, “Tom Thomson, Antimodernism, and the Ideal of Manhood,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 10, no.1 (1999): 185-208; Lynda Jessup, “Prospectors, Bushwhackers, Painters: Antimodernism and the Group of Seven,” *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 17 (1998): 193-214; Tina Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006).

³⁶ Sharon Wall, *The Nurture of Nature: Childhood, Antimodernism, and Ontario Summer Camps, 1920-1955* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 174.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 256.

³⁸ Marshall Berman, *“All That is Solid Melts into Air”: The Experience of Modernity*, 2nd ed. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), 13-15.

region, for instance. More broadly, this dissertation argues that, as part of the frequent renewal of masculinities, Scouting and its supporters embraced the modern and the antimodern in order to either shore up, revive or reinvigorate masculinities that were deemed to be threatened. In addition to wider concerns about sexuality and class, these masculinities were informed by concerns about secularization, race, and national identities.

Wall's discussion of the ongoing appeal of the antimodern in the postwar years and summer camp as a "hybrid institution" is an important jumping off point for this dissertation's consideration of the role of antimodernism in the Scout movement.³⁹ Where it differs from her work, however, is in its discussion of the role of nature and wilderness in religious experience, rather than spiritual experience, particularly in relation to the ongoing appeal of some form of muscular Christianity to religious leaders, and how antimodernism was marshalled for nationalist aims. Wall considers the spiritual side of camp in a broader discussion of "Playing Indian" as part of the antimodernist camp project.⁴⁰ "Playing Indian" and using campfire settings for storytelling was meant to inspire children to think of higher values and to connect to a more "pure" form of religious experience free from the heavier and, she argues, less popular trappings of denominational religion.⁴¹ Religious leaders and Scouting's own executive recognized the potential of camping, where the mystique of the campfire and the time spent with boys provided an ideal opportunity to turn their minds to God - but they did so by adapting religious messages in ways deemed appropriate for a boy's assumed learning style.

Like many of the non-denominational camp organizations that Wall considers in her study, Scouting had to navigate the complicated world of mid-twentieth century religious culture while maintaining a non-denominational, though not irreligious, ethos. Its complicated, at times

³⁹ Wall, *The Nurture of Nature*, 14.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 216-250.

⁴¹ Ibid., 222-228. See also Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

ambivalent, relationship with denominational leaders - and religious leaders' own approach to the movement - provides a valuable window onto the religious changes sweeping Canada in the twentieth century as well as adult attempts to shape childhood religious experience. New Zealand historian Geoffrey Troughton argues that children's religion, both in its lived experience and in adult attempts to shape it, differed markedly from that of adults. Accordingly, scholars wishing to understand the religious lives of children, and of adult attempts to shape their understanding of religion, need to look beyond the walls of the church and Sunday School. As Troughton contends, the religious world constructed for children 'had its own distinctive vocabularies and expectations,' that often differed from adult standards of religiosity; for instance, religious teachings for children often conflated moral guidance and religion."⁴²

Wall also downplays the importance of nationalist aims in the summer camp movement, and antimodernism more generally, in arguing that "the North American culture of consumption, urbanization, and industrialization and its resultant glorification of nature and the simple life were more important than were national cultures," in the culture of summer camp.⁴³ In Canada, however, national and religious distinctions and tensions led to distinct approaches to Scouting, even leading to the creation of a separate movement for French-Canadian boys. Though they were shaped by some common antimodernist inspirations, it would be wrong to assume that the modernist antimodernist project smoothed over religious and ethnic difference. The construction and entrenchment of these perceived differences in the English and French-Canadian Scout movement provides a compelling window onto broader issues of nationalisms and identities in twentieth-century Canada.

⁴² Geoffrey Troughton, "Religion, Churches and Childhood in New Zealand, C.1900-1940," *New Zealand Journal of History* 40, no. 1 (2006): 39-56.

⁴³ Wall, *The Nurture of Nature*, 257.

French-Canadian nationalists adapted the Scout program by using other international Scouting models (particularly French Catholic Scouting), moulding the Scout programme to fit their objectives for French-Canadian boys. The creation of a separate Scouting organization in Quebec in the 1930s also triggered years of wrangling between the Fédération des Scouts Catholiques de la Province de Québec, the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scout Association and French-speaking Scout leadership outside of Quebec over which boys should be included in a separate French-Canadian Scout movement. This triangular dynamic reveals a degree of continuity within French-Canadian institutional circles that nuances, without negating, the larger “rupture” in French-Canadian identity and institutional networks that occurred in the 1960s.⁴⁴ By delving into the complexities of the relationship between Quebec Scout leaders and French Catholic Scouting leaders outside of the province as well as their relations with the Boy Scouts of Canada, this study repositions discussions about English and French-Canadian identities through a triangular, as opposed to linear, set of relationships that helped shaped Francophone and English Canadian identities.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ The debate over this rupture is covered more fully in chapter 3. For more on the debate see Pierre Savard, “Relations avec le Québec,” in *Les Franco-Ontariens*, dir. Cornelius J. Jaenen (Ottawa: Les Presses de l’Université d’Ottawa, 1993), 232-235; Marcel Martel, *Le deuil d’un pays imaginé : rêves, luttes et dérouté du Canada français: les rapports entre le Québec et la francophonie canadienne, 1867-1975* (Ottawa: Presses de l’Université d’Ottawa, 1997), 33-34; Gaétan Gervais, *Des gens de résolution: Le passage du 'Canada français' à l' 'Ontario français'* (Sudbury: Institut franco-ontarien, 2003), 21; Michel Bock, *Quand la nation débordait les frontières: Les minorités françaises dans la pensée de Lionel Groulx* (Montréal : Editions Hurtubise HMH, 2004), 244-256; Yves Frenette, *Brève histoire des Canadiens français* (Montréal : Boréal, 1998) ; Gratien Allaire, “Le Triangle canadien-français au tournant des années 1960. Le Conseil de la vie française en Amérique, la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal et l’Ordre de Jacques-Cartier,” *Francophonies d’Amérique* Printemps, no. 17 (2004), 108-110; Linda Cardinal, “Le Canada français à la lumière des États généraux : critique de la thèse de la rupture,” in *Les États généraux du Canada français, trente ans après : actes du colloque tenu à l’Université d’Ottawa les 5, 6 et 7 novembre 1997*, eds. Marcel Martel and Robert Choquette, (Ottawa: Centre de recherche en civilisation canadienne-française de l’Université d’Ottawa, 1998), 213-232 ; Linda Cardinal, “Sortir de la nostalgie, en finir avec le ressentiment : les francophones hors Québec et la coopération interprovinciale,” in *Briser les solitudes : les francophonies canadiennes et québécoise*, eds. Simon Langlois and Jean-Louis Roy, (Québec : Éditions Note bene, 2003), 15-30.

⁴⁵ Jose Igartua’s recent study of the connection between changing English Canadian nationalism in the post-war period and shifts in French-Canadian nationalism, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-1971* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), while it limits itself mostly to newspapers and political discourse, provides a good example of the potential of this type of comparison for the post-war period.

Childhood and Youth

Along with broader theoretical and historiographical foundations in masculinities, modernity and antimodernism, this dissertation adds to a number of other bodies of scholarship. While each will be explored more fully in its thematic context in the dissertation, it is worth covering them in some detail here. The study of the adult construction and moulding of childhood as well as the experiences of childhood in Canada has grown significantly since the groundbreaking work of Neil Sutherland and other early historians of childhood.⁴⁶ This project engages more specifically with scholarship which focuses on the connections between social and political concerns about youth and children and the future of the nation, as well as scholarship which looks at how children and youth were marshalled as symbols of nation-building, modern citizenship, and as the building blocks of the postwar welfare state.⁴⁷ Youth movements such as the Girl Guides and Boy Scouts and various Catholic Action youth movements in French Canada were important sites of such nation-building *through and by* youth and children throughout the 20th century while also creating unique spaces for competing ideas of gender and identity.⁴⁸ As

⁴⁶ Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); Neil Sutherland, *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada from the Great War to the Age of Television* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997). See also collections such as Joy Parr, ed., *Childhood and Family in Canadian History* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982); Patricia Rooke and R. L. Schnell, eds., *Studies in Childhood History: A Canadian Perspective* (Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises, 1982). For a good overview of the growth of the field in Canada, see Mona Gleason and Tamara Myers, "History of Childhood in Canada," in *Oxford Bibliographies Online: Childhood Studies*, ed. Heather Montgomery (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013) <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199791231/obo-9780199791231-0071.xml> (accessed 4-Aug-2014).

⁴⁷ See, for example, Carol Payne, "A Land of Youth: Nationhood and the Image of the Child in the National Film Board of Canada's Still Photography Division," in *Depicting Canada's Children*, ed. Loren Lerner (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2009): 85–107; Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the 20th-Century Consensus* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2000); Cynthia Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth: Adolescence and the Making of Modern Canada* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2006); Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*; Dominique Marshall, *The Social Origins of the Welfare State: Quebec Families, Compulsory Education, and Family Allowances, 1940-1955* (Brantford, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2006). For a transnational treatment of the national child, see Karen Dubinsky, *Babies without Borders: Adoption and Migration across the Americas* (New York: New York University Press, 2010); Tarah Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts: Canadian Women, Child Safety, and Global Insecurity* (Waterloo, Ont: Wilfrid University Press, 2012).

⁴⁸ Louise Bienvenue, *Quand la jeunesse entre en scène: L'Action catholique avant la Révolution tranquille* (Montreal : Boréal, 2003); Kristine Alexander, "The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism in the

Cynthia Comacchio argues in her study of the rise of adolescent culture in the interwar period, children and youth were portrayed as “developing citizens in a developing nation, beings intent on self-formation and precious maturity in a Canada pursuing much the same goals.”⁴⁹ The conflation of youth with developing nationhood would continue well into the 1960s; this dissertation considers in more detail the regional, religious and racial nuances of Comacchio’s concept of a “dominion of youth” by pursuing the concept in a detailed, national-scale study of the differing conceptions of nation within the Scout movement

The frequent invocation made by Scout leaders and the movement’s supporters about boys being tied to the nation’s future brings us to another important scholarly field tied to this project: the study of boyhood and age as a category of historical analysis. Greig loosely defines “boyhood” in the postwar era as the period from the ages of six to fourteen years.⁵⁰ This is essentially the frame for boyhood that is used in this dissertation as it more or less covers the age cohorts which formed the bulk of Scouting’s membership - either in Cubs (for younger boys under the age of 11) or Scouts (early to mid-teens). Rovers, which was for older teen boys, was significantly less popular than Cubs and Scouts, and thus is not a major consideration in this study. Scouting’s leaders and supporters worried most about these “men in the making,” following the popular recapitulation theory of child psychologist G. Stanley Hall. Hall’s theory held that boys followed human evolutionary history in their physical and emotional

1920s and 1930s,” *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 2, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 37-63; Mary Jane McCallum, “To Make Good Canadians: Girl Guiding in Indian Residential Schools,” (MA thesis, Trent University, 2002); Patricia Dirks, “Canada’s Boys – An Imperial or National Asset? Responses to Baden-Powell’s Boy Scout Movement in Pre-War Canada,” in *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration and Identity*, eds. Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006): 111-128; Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2001); Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Greig, *Ontario Boys*.

⁴⁹ Comacchio, *Dominion of Youth*, 214.

⁵⁰ Greig, *Ontario Boys*, xi. See also Lorinda B. Cohoon, “Boyhood,” in *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood in History and Society*, ed. Paula S. Fass (New York: MacMillan, 2004): 107.

development, moving from a “savage” period to a more controlled masculinity. The transition to adolescence, according to Hall and his “boyology” supporters, was a critical period where boys needed to follow their “gang instinct” in homosocial spaces free from their mothers’ influence.⁵¹

In Scouting, this transition period was embodied in the transition from Cubs (9-11 year olds) to Scouts (11-16 year olds) and is best exemplified by the presence of women as Cub pack leaders in French and English Canadian Scouting and their exclusion from similar ranks of leadership in the Scout program.⁵² While the movement attempted to impose this perceived gender-appropriate age-based leadership structure, the need for leaders, regardless of sex, could occasionally challenge and overturn these regulations, particularly in rural areas or in northern regions. Beyond who should be leading boys in the Scout movement, this dissertation considers the religious, nationalist and racial assumptions that informed Canadian discussion of and worries about boyhood, a life stage loosely bound by social mores and shifting economic and political contexts. It is primarily concerned with the broader concept of boyhood and its connection to broader national, religious and racial constructs and less with the

⁵¹ David Macleod, “A Live Vaccine: the YMCA and Male Adolescence in the United States and Canada, 1870-1920,” *Histoire Sociale/Social History* XI (May, 1978): 5-25; Julia Grant, “A ‘Real Boy’ and Not a Sissy: Gender, Childhood, and Masculinity, 1890-1940,” *Journal of Social History* 37, 4 (2004): 829-851; Susan Green, “Savage Childhood: The Scientific Construction of Girlhood and Boyhood in the Progressive Era,” (PhD dissertation: Yale University, 1995); Greig, *Ontario Boys*, 16-25. For broader considerations of age as a category of analysis, see Steven Mintz, “Reflections on Age as a Category of Historical Analysis,” *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* Vol. 1, 1 (Winter 2008): 91-94.

⁵² The Wolf Cub movement had an earlier start in Canada than in the United States, beginning during the First World War, Ronald F. Thompson, *The Origins and Development of the Wolf Cub Movement in Canada, 1914-1940* (Victoria: University of Victoria, 1971). Female Cub leaders - Cubmasters - were key players in both the English and French-Canadian Cub movements. See for instance, Canadian General Council, Boy Scout Association, “Annual Report: 1927,” 24. In French-Canadian Catholic Scouting the issue of women leaders of Cub packs was a heated one, with Cardinal Villeneuve opposed to women leading boys, but by the late 1940s *cheftaines de meutes* were an increasingly reality in many Cub packs, Émilie Pigeon, “Providence, nationalisme et obligation sociale : L’histoire des scouts d’Ottawa, 1918-1948,” (MA Thesis, University of Ottawa, 2011), 94. For more on the gendered dynamics of leadership in Scouting, see Ben Jordan, “Savages and the “She Period”: The Boy Scouts of America’s Younger and Older Boy Problems,” in *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement’s First Century*, eds. Nelson R. Block and Tammy M. Proctor (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars’ Press, 2009): 158-174.

compartmentalization of the age categories within, though these did occasionally inform some of the racial, regional and linguistic differences within the movement.

History of Religion in Canada

In addition to contributing to the growing scholarship on childhood and youth through a consideration of the largest boys' movement in Canada on a national scale, this project also contributes to existing scholarship on religion and religiosity in early to mid-twentieth-century Canada. Historians of religion in Canada continue to debate the nature and extent of secularization - variably taken to mean the declining authority of religious institutions in public life, a decline in personal belief in God or religious practice and, finally the rise of a belief that religious belief is optional, private and subjective, if not necessarily in decline.⁵³ Much of the initial historiographical debate over secularization in Canadian culture focused on the public role of religious institutions and signs of personal practice. Ramsay Cook and David Marshall, for instance, argued that shifts in evangelical culture and thought - through movements like the Social Gospel movement or biblical criticism - unwittingly ushered in the further erosion of religious authority by engaging in theologies interested in the more immediate social and cultural concerns than in maintaining religion's spiritual position.⁵⁴ Marguerite Van Die, Michael Gauvreau and others have challenged this thesis, arguing that religious thinkers and Protestantism more broadly were able to successfully navigate the social and intellectual transformations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to sustain a sort of Protestant consensus.⁵⁵ Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau have argued that the ongoing social

⁵³ For more on this discussion of the nature of secularization, see Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 2-3, 10; Jose Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1994).

⁵⁴ Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto University of Toronto Press, 1985), David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

⁵⁵ Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in*

engagement of Protestant denominational leaders ensured an ongoing authority for Protestantism well into the mid-twentieth century.⁵⁶ Most historians agree, however, that the 1960s represented a watershed moment in religious life in Canada as both religious practice and the public institutional presence of religion changed dramatically.⁵⁷ Gary Miedema argues that it was during the postwar era, particularly the 1960s, that the “historic privileging of Christianity in Canadian national public life began very visibly to crumble,” even if mainline churches continued to seek new ways to remain relevant.⁵⁸

In Quebec, meanwhile, the more traditional interpretation of the Quiet Revolution - a period marked by a shift to a more territorial French-Canadian nationalism in Quebec symbolized by the dramatic expansion of the Quebec state to take over social services previously operated by the Catholic Church⁵⁹ - as a period of rapid decline of religious authority has been reconsidered as the intellectual and social roots of the changes of the 1960s are increasingly

Canada, 1839-1918 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989); Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal and Kingston McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).

⁵⁶ Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940* (Montreal and Kingston' McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).

⁵⁷ John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Burlington, Ontario: Welch Publishing Company, Inc, 1988), 160-183; John G. Stackhouse Jr, “The Protestant Experience in Canada Since 1945,” in *The Canadian Protestant Experience 1760 to 1990*, ed. G.A. Rawlyk (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 205-239.

⁵⁸ Gary Miedema, *For Canada's Sake: Public Religion, Centennial Celebrations, and the Re-Making of Canada in the 1960s* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 4. See also John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era*, 215-218, Stackhouse, “Protestant Experience in Canada,” 207-219; Catherine Gidney, *A Long Eclipse: The Liberal Protestant Establishment and the Canadian University, 1920-1970* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004); Bruce Douville, “The Uncomfortable Pew: Christianity, the New Left, and the Hip Counterculture in Toronto, 1965-1975,” (PhD dissertation, York University, 2011), 54-56. This was also seen in public schooling, R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, “The Christian Recessional in Ontario's Public Schools,” in *Religion and Public Life in Canada: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Marguerite Van Die (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 275-93.

⁵⁹ For more on the social and political shifts of this period, see, Michael D. Behiels, *Prelude to Quebec's Quiet Revolution: Liberalism Versus Neo-Nationalism, 1945-1960* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985); Kenneth McRoberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*, third edition (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993).

connected to broader shifts within French-Canadian Catholicism.⁶⁰ This dissertation further nuances the secularization discussion by illustrating an ebb and flow within the Scout movement and its relationship with religious denominations, as well as shifting attitudes towards Scouting within Protestant and French-Canadian Catholic religious circles.

The uneven process of secularization is illustrated within Scouting's religious programming and its relationship with Canadian churches. Both French-Canadian Catholic and English-Canadian Protestant religious leaders saw Scouting as a means to re-engage boys with religion in a distinctly masculine setting- either through camping and hiking and contact with nature, or in quiet evening sermons by the campfire. For many French-Canadian nationalists, however, Scouting's attraction also posed a potential threat to their boys as the movement was seen as too imperialist, too Protestant and overly obsessed with nature study instead of the sacraments. Beyond the debate over secularization, the concept of children's religious lives remains relatively unexplored in Canada. Most studies of children's religion have focused on denominational institutional settings such as the Sunday School or church-sponsored girls' or boys' movements and have rarely considered the interaction between officially non-denominational, but not non-religious, movements like the Boy Scouts or Girl Guides.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Jean Hamelin, *Histoire du Catholicisme québécois, vol. III, t.2. de 1940 à nos jours* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1984); David Seljak, "Catholicism's 'Quiet Revolution' *Maintenant* and the New Public Catholicism in Quebec after 1960," in *Religion and Public Life in Canada: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Marguerite Van Die, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001): 257-274; Terence J. Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 278-302, E.-Martin Meunier and Jean-Philippe Warren, *Sortir de la "Grande Noirceur" L'horizon "Personnaliste" de la Révolution Tranquille* (Sillery: Septentrion, 2002); Xavier Gélinas, *La droite intellectuelle québécoise et la Révolution tranquille* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2007). Micheal Gauvreau, *The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, 1931-1970* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005); Nicole Neatby, *Carabins ou activistes?: l'idéalisme et la radicalisation de la pensée étudiante à l'Université de Montréal au temps du duplessisme* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999).

⁶¹ See, for instance, Neil Semple, "'The Nurture and Admonition of the Lord': Nineteenth-Century Canadian Methodism's Response to 'Childhood,'" *Social History* 14, no. 27 (1981): 157-176; David Macleod, "A Live Vaccine,"; Patricia Dirks, "Reinventing Christian Masculinity and Fatherhood: The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1900-1920," in *Households of Faith: Family, Gender and Community in Canada, 1760-1969*, ed. Nancy Christie (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002): 290-316; Patricia Dirks, "'Getting a Grip on

Northern Canadian History

The themes of religion, secularization and nationalism in Canada converge in this project's discussion of Scouting in the Canadian North.⁶² In a recent reflection on the state of scholarship on the Canadian North, historians Ken Coates and William Morrison noted that "The North remains, as in the past, to a considerable degree an artifact of southern creation, a snow-covered tabula rasa upon which Canadian writers, thinkers and artists have presented fanciful southern visions of the North."⁶³ Scholarship on the North, particularly on indigenous experience and perspectives has grown considerably in the last few decades,⁶⁴ though more traditional

Harry': Canada's Methodists Respond to the 'Big Boy' Problem, 1900-1925," *Canadian Methodist Historical Society Papers*, Vol. 7 (1989): 67-82; Lucille M. Marr, "Church Teen Clubs, Feminized Organizations? Tuxis Boys, Trail Rangers, and Canadian Girls In Training, 1919-1939," *Historical Studies in Education* Vol. 3, no. 2 (1991), 249-267; Patricia Kmiec, "Parading The Children: The Leisure Activities of Ontario's Protestant Sunday Schools, 1841-1871," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2012): 69-87; Margaret Prang, "'The Girl God Would Have Me Be': The Canadian Girls in Training, 1915-1939," *Canadian Historical Review* 66, 2 (June 1985): 154-184; Diana Pedersen, "'Keeping Our Good Girls Good': the YWCA and the 'Girl Problem,' 1870-1930," *Canadian Woman Studies* 7, 4 (Winter 1986): 20-24; Patricia Dirks, "Finding the 'Canadian' Way: Origins of the Religious Education Council of Canada," *Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses* 16, 3 (1987): 303-316; Allan Greer, "'The Sunday Schools of Upper Canada,'" *Ontario History* LXVII, 3 (September 1975): 164-184; Sharon Anne Cook, "Educating for Temperance: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union and Ontario Children 1880-1916," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 5, 2 (1993): 251-77; William Brown, "The Sunday School Movement in the Methodist Church In Canada, 1875-1925," (MA Thesis, Victoria University, 1959); Bienvenue, *Quand la jeunesse entre en scène*; Lucie Piché, *Femmes et changement social au Québec : l'apport de la Jeunesse ouvrière catholique féminine* (Québec : Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2003); Gaston Desjardins, *L'amour en patience: la sexualité adolescente au Québec, 1940-1960* (Sainte-Foy, Québec: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1995).

⁶² The use of "North" in this research refers to its connotation as a created construct, and imagined region, while "north" refers more to geographical location. Both "North" and "north" were used, at times interchangeably, by the Boy Scouts and federal government officials in their correspondence and planning of the expansion of Scouting into the territories as well as northern provincial areas around Hudson and James Bay. For more on the question of "nordicity" in Canadian culture and history see: Louis-Edmond Hamelin, *Canadian Nordicity: It's Your North Too* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1979), I-13; Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free," in *Nationalism in Canada*, ed. Peter Russell (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 3-26; Sherrill E. Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001); Renée Hulan, *Northern Experience and Myths of Canadian Culture* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).

⁶³ Kenneth C. Coates and William R. Morrison, "The New North in Canadian History and Historiography," *History Compass* Vol. 6, No. 2 (March 2008), 641.

⁶⁴ See, for instance, June Helm, *The People of Denendeh: Ethnohistory of the Indians of Canada's Northwest Territories* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000); Kerry Abel, *Drum Songs: Glimpses of Dene History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005); Lyle Dick, *Muskox Land: Ellesmere Island in the Age of Contact* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2001); Julie Cruikshank, *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990); Julie Cruikshank, *Do Glaciers Listen? Local Knowledge, Colonial Encounters & Social Imagination* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005); Shelagh Grant, *Arctic Justice: On Trial for Murder, Pond Inlet, 1923* (Montreal: McGill-

explorations of Arctic sovereignty, Arctic exploration, post-1945 government interventions in the region and northern identities continue to round out the field.⁶⁵ This research straddles the shift from mission and trading post to postwar welfare state intervention in the region, bringing to light an important, but neglected, element of northern history - the symbolic and material place of childhood within the broader context of significant social and political change in the North. Of particular interest to this project is the growing scholarship on the local impacts of the northern colonial project, from early missionary and trading activity to postwar federal welfare policies. Important studies of missionary and Hudson's Bay Company activity in the North by Myra Rutherdale, Barbara Kelcey and Joan Sangster are important examples of how gender dynamics played important roles in the experience of the colonial project in the Canadian North.⁶⁶ Others have considered the extension of high modernist thinking to the Canadian North

Queen's University Press, 2002); Robert McGhee, *The Last Imaginary Place: A Human History of the Arctic World* (Toronto: Key Porter, 2004); Ishmael Alunik, Eddie D. Kolausok, and David A. Morrison., *Across Time and Tundra: The Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic* (Vancouver: Raincoast Books, 2003); R. Fossett, *In Order to Live Untroubled: Inuit Life of the Central Arctic 1550 to 1940* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2001); Nancy Wachowich et al., *Saqiyuq: Stories from the Lives of Three Inuit Women* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999); John Bennett and Susan Rowley, *Uqalurait: An Oral History of Nunavut* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).

⁶⁵ K. S. Coates and W. R. Morrison, *The Alaska Highway in World War II: The U.S. Army of Occupation in Canada's Northwest* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Shelagh Grant, *Sovereignty or Security?: Government Policy in the Canadian North* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988); Whitney Lackenbauer, "The Cold War on Canadian Soil: Militarizing a Northern Environment," *Environmental History* 12/3 (October 2007): 920–50; Robert McGhee, *The Arctic Voyages of Martin Frobisher: An Elizabethan Adventure* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001); Russell Potter, *Arctic Spectacles: The Frozen Arctic in Visual Culture* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007); Morris Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North 1870–1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971); Morris Zaslow, *The Northward Expansion of Canada 1914–1967* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988); W. R. Morrison, *Showing the Flag: The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty in the North, 1894–1925* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985); Janice Cavell and Jeff Noakes, *Acts of Occupation: Canada and Arctic Sovereignty, 1918–1925* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010); Quinn Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut: The Progress of the Eastern Arctic Inuit Since the Second World War* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988); Tina Adcock, "Toward an Early Twentieth-Century Canadian Culture of Arctic Exploration," in *North by Degree: Arctic Exploration and Its Impact on Society*, eds. Susan A. Kaplan and Robert McCracken Peck (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2013): 109–41; Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North*.

⁶⁶ Myra Rutherdale, *Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002); Barbara Kelcey, *Alone in Silence: European Women in the Canadian North Before 1940* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001); Joan Sangster, "Constructing the 'Eskimo' Wife: White Women's Travel Writing, Colonialism, and the Canadian North, 1940–1960," in *Creating Postwar Canada: Community, Diversity, and Dissent, 1945–75*, eds. Magda Fahrni and Robert Rutherdale (Vancouver: UBC Press,

through postwar conservation efforts, health care reforms and federal efforts to relocate Inuit and northern Aboriginal populations.⁶⁷ Beyond studies of gender and imperialism in the North, recent studies and ongoing projects which focus on residential schooling and northern education history are particularly important to this study's consideration of Scouting in the Canadian North. Early works by Jacqueline Gresko, Jean Barman, J.R. Miller and John Milloy, among others, were important in exploring the range of institutions and experiences of the residential school system in Canada.⁶⁸ Celia Haig-Brown and many others have also stimulated valuable discussion of the experiences of Aboriginal students themselves and have helped to highlight the long-term legacies of federal Aboriginal and Inuit schooling policy.⁶⁹ Ken Coates' early works on

2008): 23-44; Joan Sangster, "The Beaver as Ideology: Constructing Images of Inuit and Native Life in Post-World War II Canada," *Anthropologica* 49, 2 (2007): 191-209. For more on the colonial dynamic of transcultural exchange see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

⁶⁷ Matthew Farish and P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "High Modernism in the Arctic: Planning Frobisher Bay and Inuvik," *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (2009): 517-544; John Sandlos, *Hunters at the Margin: Native People and Wildlife Conservation in the Northwest Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007); Liza Piper, *The Industrial Transformation of Subarctic Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009); Peter Kulchyski and Frank Tester, *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-63* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1994); Peter Kulchyski and Frank Tester, *Kiumajut (Talking Back): Game Management and Inuit Rights, 1900-70* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007); Pat Grygier, *A Long Way From Home: The Tuberculosis Epidemic Among the Inuit* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994); Frank Tester, Paul McNicoll and Peter Irniq, "Writing For Our Lives: The Language Of Homesickness, Self-Esteem And The Inuit Tb "Epidemic"," *Études Inuit Studies* 25, no. 1/2 (June 2001): 121-140; Paul McNicoll, Frank Tester and Peter Kulchyski, "Arctic Abstersions: 'The Book of Wisdom for Eskimo,' Modernism and Inuit Assimilation," *Études-Inuit Studies* vol. 23, no. 1-2 (1999): 199-220.

⁶⁸ Jacqueline Gresko, "White 'Rites' and Indian 'Rites': Indian Education and Native Responses in the West, 1870-1910", in *Western Canada Past and Present*, ed. A.W. Rasporich (Calgary: McClelland and Stewart West, 1975): 163-181; Jean Barman, "Schooled for Inequality: The Education of British Columbia Aboriginal Children," in *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia*, eds. Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland, and J. Donald Wilson (Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises, 1995): 57-80; J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); John Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999).

⁶⁹ Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Tillacum Library, 1991); Elizabeth Furniss, *Victims of Benevolence: The Dark Legacy of the Williams Lake Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1995); Elizabeth Graham, *The Mush Hole: Life at Two Indian Residential Schools* (Waterloo: Heffle Publishing, 1997); Isabelle Knockwood, *Out of the Depths: The Experiences of Mi'kmaw Children at the Indian Residential School of Schubenacadie, Nova Scotia* (Lakeport, Nova Scotia: Roseway Publishing, 1992); Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010).

missionary and federal Aboriginal education policy in the North were, for a time, the sole Aboriginal schooling studies with a northern focus.⁷⁰

More recent work has not only broadened the geographic reach of northern education studies, but also the scope of residential school life to include extracurricular activities and sports.⁷¹ Heather McGregor's research in particular provides a broader analysis of historic continuity and change in the Eastern Arctic. She brings valuable regional nuances to the fore by separating Western and Eastern Arctic educational histories, as well as considering the sites of resistance and adaptation both by teachers as well as students and their parents in the gradual shift to a northern education policy that empowered local authorities to adapt educational models which reflected "Inuit culture and Inuit ways of knowing, being, and doing."⁷² Of particular relevance to this study is her section on "Qallunaat Schooling: Education in the Colonial Period."⁷³ Through a thorough discussion of the challenges faced by teachers, administrators, students and parents during the height of the "colonial" period in northern education, McGregor emphasizes the discursive, assimilative power of schooling policy while incorporating local adaptations by teachers and communities to try and adjust schooling to Inuit needs and ways of learning. Teachers in the postwar years were often forced to adapt their approach to suit the rhythms and cycles of local communities and, by the 1960s, increasingly sought to incorporate Inuit knowledge and teachings into their classrooms, setting the stage for a push for local control

⁷⁰ Kenneth Coates, "Betwixt And Between": The Anglican Church and the Children of the Carcross (Chooutla) Residential School, 1911-1954," *BC Studies* no. 64 (Winter 1984): 27-47; Kenneth Coates, *Best Left as Indians: Native-White Relations in the Yukon Territory, 1840-1973* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

⁷¹ Janice Forsyth, "Bodies of Meaning: Sports and Games at Residential Schools," in *Aboriginal Peoples and Sports in Canada: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Issues*, eds. Janice Forsyth and Audrey R. Giles (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012): 15-34; Mary Jane McCallum, "To make good Canadians: Girl Guiding in Indian residential schools," (M.A. Thesis, Trent University, 2002); Scott McLean, "To Educate or Not to Educate? Canadian Discourses Concerning Inuit Schooling From the 1930s to the 1950s," *Journal of Historical Sociology* Vol. 8, no. 5 (June 1995): 182-197; Heather McGregor, *Inuit Education and Schools in the Eastern Arctic* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).

⁷² *Ibid.*, 168.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 54-84.

over education in the 1970s.⁷⁴ This study builds on McGregor's important observations illustrating how local and national Boy Scout leadership also worked, in very limited ways, to adapt the Scout program to perceived needs of Inuit boys in the North in the 1960s, bringing attention to both the gendered nature of these expectations and the ongoing exchange between national leadership in Ottawa and local authorities in northern communities. The expansion of Scouting's interest in the North complemented federal government intervention in the region, and local attempts to adapt the movement even further to suit local knowledge echoed the broader shifts identified by northern education scholars as well as historians interested in federal expansion in the North.

McGregor's work provides a rich and nuanced interpretation of local, territorial and federal players in northern education, which is further enriched by her connection to northern communities - both as a resident and a scholar. Indeed, there is a growing body of scholarship written *by northerners about northern history* (both territorial and provincial), including, but not limited to, scholarship on the field of education.⁷⁵ This "working from home" dynamic, described most sensitively by Susan Hill in her reflection about working in her own community of the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory, brings a deeper knowledge and set of relationships to bear both to the research and the social engagement of the researcher.⁷⁶ As a non-northern, non-indigenous researcher with limited experience and knowledge of northern communities, I could not possibly hope to bring this sort of "deep engagement" to this dissertation project that writing "from home" or spending the better part of a career in the North

⁷⁴ Ibid., 76-84.

⁷⁵ Ibid., x-xiv. See also Crystal Fraser, "Making Them Into Nice White Kids": Education and Indigenous Resistance in the Inuvik Region, Northwest Territories, 1950 to 1996," (PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, in progress); McCallum, "To Make Good Canadians."

⁷⁶ Susan M. Hill, "Conducting Haudenosaunee Historical Research from Home: In the Shadow of the Six Nations-Caledonia Reclamation," *The American Indian Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (2009): 479-498.

could achieve.⁷⁷ I am mindful of the complicated legacy of the role of research in the colonial project, particularly in northern Canada.⁷⁸

By highlighting the previously understudied activities and objectives of the Scout movement in the Canadian north - particularly focusing on its role in the postwar colonial northern project - this study seeks to act as what Shelagh Grant has called a “first step to becoming involved in the field of Inuit historiography,” without making unfounded claims about Inuit experience or perspective.⁷⁹ It provides valuable institutional and broader historical context for future localized studies of childhood and education histories in the North. That being said, this research does engage in a sensitive reading of sources and experiences, particularly on the subject of Scouting in the provincial and territorial north. I do not presume to speak for the many Aboriginal and Inuit students who participated in Scouting in their childhood, or the impact the Scout and Guide movement had within Canadian Inuit and Aboriginal communities, but hope to provide more context on the wide range of social and institutional spaces in which these experiences and perspectives can be further explored.⁸⁰

Scouting and Youth Movements

Finally, this study contributes to the growing literature on the Scout movement itself. Scouting, is relatively understudied in Canada when compared to the extensive research in

⁷⁷ For more discussion on the challenges - financial, relational and geographical - of conducting research in the North, see Coates and Morrison, “The New North in Canadian History and Historiography,” 649-651; Shelagh D. Grant, “Inuit History in the New Millennium: Challenges and Rewards,” in *Northern Visions: New Perspectives on the North in Canadian History*, eds. Kerry Abel and Ken Coates (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2001): 91-106, McGregor, *Inuit Education*, ix-xiv.

⁷⁸ For further discussion of the impacts of research on indigenous communities, see Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999).

⁷⁹ Grant, “Inuit History in the New Millennium,” 100.

⁸⁰ These personal reflections owe much to my discussions with and readings of two colleagues, Heather McGregor and Kristine Alexander; McGregor, *Inuit Education*, ix-xiv, Alexander, “The Girl Guide Movement,” 18-21.

Britain and the United States.⁸¹ In addition to biographies of Baden Powell by Michael Rosenthal and Tim Jeal, historians such as John Springhall and Allen Warren have debated the militarist, imperialist or internationalist leanings of the early Scouting movement.⁸² More generally, historians, sociologists and anthropologists in Europe and the United States have studied the Scout movement as a facet of empire, as a symptom of efforts for social reform, as part of the movement of ‘muscular Christianity’ in frontier culture, as part of the creation of modern adolescence, and as part of the cult of nature and the outdoors.⁸³ Of particular interest to this study is the observation by historian Sam Pryke that the various national incarnations of Scouting have been left relatively unstudied and, more particularly, that the “distinctive contours” of nationalism in the movement remain to be traced in more nuanced detail.⁸⁴

This project picks up Pryke’s call to explore the “distinctive contours” of nationalisms within the Scout movement by comparing the French and English-Canadian Scout movement.

⁸¹ A recent collection of studies, the product of a special conference held at Johns Hopkins University to mark the centennial of the release of *Scouting for Boys*, provides an excellent sample of the diversity of scholarship on the scouting and guiding movements, Nelson R. Block and Tammy Proctor, *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement’s First Century* (Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009). For an excellent background of the first historical studies of the scout and guide movement see Nelson R. Block, “A Well Where Others May Drink: 100 Years of Scouting History,” in Block and Proctor, *Scouting Frontiers*: 2-12.

⁸² Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986); Tim Jeal, *Baden-Powell: Founder of the Boy Scouts* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1989); John Springhall, *Youth, Empire, and Society: A Social History of British Youth Movements, 1883-1940* (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1977); Allen Warren, “Citizens of the Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides, and an Imperial Ideal,” in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986): 232-251; Allen Warren, “Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900-1920,” *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 101, No. 399 (Apr., 1986): 376-398; Allen Warren, “Popular Manliness: Baden Powell, Scouting and the Development of Manly Characters,” in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, ed. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985): 199-219.

⁸³ David Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy: the Boy Scouts, the YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Susan Miller, *Growing Girls: The Natural Origins of Girls’ Organizations in America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007); Timothy Parsons, *Race, Resistance and the Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004); Tammy Proctor, *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain* (Philadelphia: America Philosophical Society, 2002); Kristine Alexander, “The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism During the 1920s and 1930s,” *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* Vol. 2, no. 1 (2009): 37-63.

⁸⁴ Sam Pryke, “The Popularity of Nationalism in the Early British Boy Scout Movement,” *Social History*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Oct., 1998): 309-324.

The study of Scouting in both French and English Canada is a small, but growing, field of inquiry. A number of official or local histories of the movement have been published in both French and English, and some of these works have provided useful background on the movement's structural growth in Canada.⁸⁵ Scholarly interest in the movement increased in the early 1990s and continues to grow. Some of these studies reflected broader shifts in the Canadian historical field as historians applied methodological frameworks of gender, class and discursive analysis to their studies of youth movements like Scouting. Ross Bragg, for instance, provided valuable analysis of the masculine discourse of early Scout manuals and other promotional literature in the early years of the movement.⁸⁶ More recently, Janice Hill applied a governmentality framework to consider the governance and regulation of childhood within youth organizations like Scouting and the Girl Guides as part of larger moral reform efforts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁸⁷ Others have considered issues of working class membership in the movement,⁸⁸ international positioning of the Canadian Scout movement,⁸⁹ pedagogical reform in the movement in the mid to late 1960s,⁹⁰ and moral and religious training of French Canadian Scout leaders in Montreal.⁹¹

⁸⁵ See, for instance, Robert E. Milks, ed. *75 Years of Scouting in Canada* (Toronto: Scouts Canada, 1981); Denis Poulet, *Scouts un jour! Une histoire du scoutisme canadien-français* (Montréal: Association des Scouts du Canada, 1992); Louis Pronovost, *Les Godillots de Feu - Une histoire du clan Saint-Jacques* (Sillery: Les Éditions Septentrion, 2000).

⁸⁶ Ross Bragg, "The Boy Scout Movement in Canada: Defining Constructs of Masculinity for the Twentieth Century," (MA thesis: Dalhousie University, 1995).

⁸⁷ Janice M. Hill, "Building a Nation of Nation-Builders: Youth Movements, Imperialism and English Canadian Nationalism, 1900-1920," (PhD dissertation, York University, 2004).

⁸⁸ Kerry-Ann Radey, "'Young Knights of the Empire': Scouting ideals of Nation and Empire in Interwar Canada," (MA Thesis, Laurentian University, 2003); Christine McLaughlin, "The McLaughlin Legacy and the Struggle for Labour Organization: Community, Class, and Oshawa's UAW Local 222, 1944-49," (MA Thesis: Trent University, 2007).

⁸⁹ Scott Johnston, "Looking Wide? Imperialism, Internationalism, and the Boy Scout Movement, 1918-1939," (MA Thesis: University of Waterloo, 2012).

⁹⁰ Jeffrey Bonhomme, "'In Step With Canada's Future': The Restructuring of the Boy Scout Movement in Canada," (MA Thesis: University of Windsor, 1992).

⁹¹ David Boudreau, "Le chef scout canadien-français: son idéal, sa formation et sa mission dans quatre troupes d'Outremont (1935-1965)," (MA Thesis, Université de Montréal, 2011); Raphaël Thériault, "Former des hommes, des chrétiens, des citoyens : le projet d'éducation des scouts du Petit Séminaire de Québec 1933-1970," (MA Thesis:

Beyond the studies on Scouting cited above, the work of two historians in particular have provided important early foundations for this study. Patricia Dirks' studies of the growth of the Scout movement in Canada in the early twentieth century offer important insights into the movement's place in imperialist nationalism in Canada, in addition to opening important comparative possibilities in her studies of United Church boys' movements.⁹² Dirks' studies do not go beyond the interwar period, however, and often use the Scout movement as a foil for considering religious worries within Protestant youth movements without probing the internal dynamics of Scouting's relationships with other institutions. This study supplements her earlier work by considering in further detail the interactions between the Scout movement and Protestant religious leaders. Pierre Savard, meanwhile, published some insightful and well-researched pieces on French-Canadian Scouting as well as broader discussions of the movement in Canada.⁹³ Most importantly, he was the first to compare the movements in French and English Canada and to consider how relations between the two associations affected developments within each of the two solitudes.⁹⁴ Other than Savard's work, the Scouting movement in French and English Canada has received scant scholarly attention. Émilie Pigeon's recent study of Scouting in Ottawa sheds important new light on the region's role in shaping French-Canadian Scouting on both sides of the Ottawa River.⁹⁵ Broader studies of youth and youth movements in Canada have followed the larger historiography of Scouting in portraying it as representative of

Québec, Université Laval, 2000).

⁹² Dirks, "Canada's Boys,"; " 'Getting a Grip on Harry,'" ; see also Marr, "Church Teen Clubs."

⁹³ Pierre Savard, "L'implantation du scoutisme au Canada français," *Les Cahiers des Dix* 43 (December 1983): 207-262; Pierre Savard, "Une jeunesse et son Église: les scouts-routiers de la Crise à la Révolution Tranquille," *Les Cahiers des Dix* 53, (December 1999):117-165; Pierre Savard, "O Canada! 1955," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 32:1 (1997:Spring): 153-162; Pierre Savard, "Quels types de chrétiens a [sic] formés le scoutisme? L'exemple du Canada," in *Le scoutisme. Quel type d'homme? Quel type de femme?, Quel type de chrétien?*, eds. Gérard Cholvy et Marie-Thérèse Chéroutre (Paris: Cerf, 1994): 225-235; Pierre Savard, "Pour une histoire des jeunes," *Les Cahiers d'histoire du Québec au XXe siècle* 2 (1994): 119-131.

⁹⁴ Pierre Savard, "Affrontement de nationalismes aux origines du scoutisme canadien-français," *Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada* 17 (1979): 41-56.

⁹⁵ Émilie Pigeon, "Providence, nationalisme et obligation sociale."

imperialist and militarist sentiment prior to the First World War, of middle class concerns about youth and their response to a perceived 'youth problem' of amorality, and to a perceived threat to traditional masculine education and values in twentieth century Canadian society.⁹⁶ This study moves beyond the interwar period typically considered by scholars of the movement in Canada, and considers the interplay between faith, language, nation and region in the movement over a longer period of forty years.

Sources

Primary source material related to the history of Scouting in Canada is substantial. A number of national, provincial and local archives offer excellent archival material for this project. The large *Scouts Canada* collection at Library and Archives Canada (LAC) includes a voluminous set of materials related to English-French relations in the movement, national council discussions on a variety of topics as well as a number of boxes of material strictly on efforts to expand Canadian Scouting in the north. In addition to the Scouts Canada collection, LAC also holds many individual fonds of individuals involved in the national executive of Scouting. The Archives nationales du Québec in Montreal has a number of fonds connected to the various permutations of the French-Canadian Scout movement; much of the institutional record for both La Fédération and its successor, the Association des Scouts du Canada, contains contemporary material from the last couple of decades. These fonds contain a rich variety of material, from executive meeting minutes, to internal reports, and personal correspondence and promotional literature. A particularly extensive holding is the Société historique de Saint-Boniface's various French-Canadian Scouting collections and more particularly the Archdiocesan papers of Msgr. Maurice Baudoux, which allow for a much richer discussion of

⁹⁶ Berger, *The Sense of Power*, Moss, *Manliness and Militarism*; Comacchio, *Dominion of Youth*; Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble With Normal*; Owrap, *Born at the Right Time*.

the complexities of Scouting in French Canada than collections at Library and Archives Canada or the Archives nationales du Québec alone would have provided. The Centre d'études acadiennes also holds other valuable material that helped further contextualize the French-Canadian Scouting movement. The Glenbow Museum and Archives in Calgary provided further regional Scout history sources for Alberta, as well as individual collections of papers of Scout leaders who worked in the Northwest Territories.

Religious denominational archives also proved quite rich, particularly for the two largest Protestant supporters of Scouting, the United Church of Canada and the Anglican Church of Canada.⁹⁷ The United Church of Canada's Archives *Board of Christian Education* holdings, the General Synod Archives of the Anglican Church's Board of Religious Education and the Canadian Council of Churches Boys Work Board files, found at Library and Archives Canada, all provided rich materials for considering the broader place of boys' religion in both the churches and Scouting. Institutional collections of La Fédération and various diocesan French-Canadian Catholic Scout movements outside of Quebec supplement a rich variety of published material on French-Canadian Catholic Scouting. As for the English-Canadian Catholic Church, these sources were more difficult to locate, as there was no official structure for English-language Catholic Scouting like that found for French Canadian Catholics.

I also consulted a diverse range of sources for my treatment of northern Scouting. This topic initially presented itself rather unexpectedly in the Scouts Canada collections in Ottawa where box upon box turned up rich material on how Ottawa-based Scout leaders hoped to expand the movement in the North. I subsequently pursued possible archival sources in

⁹⁷ This archival richness, combined with their position as the two largest Protestant supporters of Scouting (though the United Church was ambivalent towards Scouting in the early years of the movement) are why I have chosen to restrict my study to these two mainline Protestant churches. Further research on Presbyterian or Baptist church attitudes towards the Scout movement may further nuance this study's analysis of the relationship between religion and Scouting.

government archives, denominational archives, the Hudson Bay Archives in Winnipeg, the territorial archives of Yukon and the Northwest Territories (at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre), as well as the Dawson City Archives in the Yukon. As discussed earlier, I restricted my research to how northern Scouting was conceptualized by its southern leaders as well as by northern officials while working to remain sensitive to silences and power imbalances in the sources consulted; these new insights will hopefully fuel further research about and from within northern communities.

Finally, this research would not have been possible without the existence of the many small Scout museums, archives and private collectors across the country and their committed volunteer staff. As Kristine Alexander points out in her own research on the Girl Guide movement, these archives - often run by volunteers and devoted to preserving a certain type of history of the Scout and Guide movement - are crucial repositories of Scout and Guide histories.⁹⁸ My research took me to Scout museums and libraries in Niagara Falls, Ontario; Belleville, Ontario; Kingston, Ontario; Winnipeg, Manitoba; Calgary, Alberta and the National Scout Museum in Ottawa. The Belleville Scout and Guide Museum in particular proved to be a particularly rich source of primary materials - especially of Scout literature, promotional material, small-run publications and some private papers.⁹⁹ Over the course of a year I visited the Belleville museum and archives on an almost weekly basis, where I also benefited from conversations with local volunteer curators. Numerous volunteers at other Scout museums also proved to be quite helpful. Like others who have conducted research on voluntary organizations,

⁹⁸ See Alexander, "The Girl Guide Movement," 11-18; Kristine Alexander, "Can the Girl Guide Speak? The Perils and Pleasures of Looking for Children's Voices in Archival Research," *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures* (Summer 2012): 132-144.

⁹⁹ For more on the Belleville Scout and Guide Museum, see: <http://www3.sympatico.ca/pandj/index.html> (accessed August 9, 2014).

communicating my research interests effectively proved a stimulating challenge.¹⁰⁰ While many museum curators were most interested in showing me the more “collectible” aspects of the movement’s history in their collections - rare badges, local handicrafts or souvenir items - there were also often rich archival and published sources in back rooms or in unorganized boxes or, in the case of the Belleville museum, a painstakingly compiled room full of provincial, national and local Scout publications not found anywhere else in my research travels.

Dissertation Structure

This dissertation is divided into six chapters. The first chapter probes the meaning and importance of “Duty to God” in the Canadian Boy Scout movement from its expansion into Canada to the outbreak of the Second World War. The Canadian Boy Scout movement during this period not only fractured along linguistic-religious lines (with the creation of a separate Scout association for French-Canadian Catholics in Quebec), it faced direct competition from other church-based boys’ movements. Though some Canadian churches expressed concerns about the movement’s non-denominationalism, they also faced the reality of significant numbers of their boys and clergy supporting the movement. French-Canadian Catholic leaders also adapted the movement to fit the particular nationalist and religious aspirations of the period. Like English-Canadian Scouting, French-Canadian supporters of Scouting were also inspired by the movement’s muscular antimodernism, though they insisted on a separate structure for French-Canadian Scouting. Canadian Scouting remained staunchly non-denominational, but deeply Christian, in the interwar period.

¹⁰⁰ Alexander, “The Girl Guide Movement,” 11-15. For more on these archival challenges, see the essays in Antoinette Burton, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2005).

The second chapter follows the relationship between the Scout Association and the United and Anglican churches through the war and into the 1960s.¹⁰¹ It argues that a more nuanced understanding of the complex and uneven process of secularization of Canadian society that took place in the 1960s emerges from a consideration of the changing relationship between Scouting and Canadian churches. I argue that the war years pushed both Scoutmaster and pastor to reconsider the points of convergence and divergence in their work as they saw their worlds overtaken by the fight against fascism, the astonishing power of the atomic bomb, and the looming threat of the Cold War. Wartime liberal idealism about building a better postwar society converged with a commitment, by both Scouting and the Churches, to renew religion as a critical component of democratic citizenship education. Added to these worries, however, were concerns that the modern welfare state, not to mention the increasingly impenetrable culture of the "teenager," were softening boys' individuality and self-reliance. These shared concerns ultimately pushed Scouting and the churches to cooperate on a more formal basis.

The third chapter explores a series of efforts to reconnect French-speaking boys across the country in a united French-Canadian Catholic Scout movement. The creation of Les Scouts Catholiques du Canada and its eventual renewed affiliation with the Boy Scouts of Canada in 1967 was part of an ongoing process of negotiation and adaptation in the country's largest boys' movement. A number of forces and interests converged in negotiating this particular compromise. This convergence demonstrates that French-Canadian identity, though challenged by important shifts in French-Canadian nationalism in Quebec in the 1950s and 1960s, continued to hold value for many French Canadians across the country.

¹⁰¹ The Church of England in the Dominion of Canada changed its name to the Anglican Church of Canada in 1955 - I have used variants of these two titles where appropriate, though "Anglican" is often used as short form.

The final chapters of this dissertation shift in regional and thematic focus by looking at questions of race and region in Scouting through its history in the Canadian North. Chapter four considers Scouting's first forays in the Canadian Arctic and provincial "norths" from the interwar period to the mid-1950s. It argues that the Scout movement was reflective of patterns within the larger project of colonial rule of the North. The interwar period policy of "benign neglect" of the North by the federal government was mirrored by the Boy Scout Association. Scout groups in the North remained mainly affiliated with small mission stations, where missionaries and local RCMP officers volunteered their time in efforts to supplement mission school efforts in providing civilizing and Christianizing support to Inuit and Aboriginal boys. For Scouts from southern Canada, meanwhile, special trips to the North were potent symbols of the movement's objective of training boys for a particularly virile form of masculinity and citizenship.

Unprecedented military intervention and construction activity during the Second World War and early Cold War, combined with a renewed interest in the region's natural resources, fuelled an increase in concern over Canadian sovereignty in the North as well as the welfare of the region's Inuit and Aboriginal inhabitants in the postwar era. Chapter five considers these broader shifts and argues that the late 1950s and 1960s marked a unique moment of focused government and Boy Scout Association cooperation in attempting to expand Scouting in the North as part of larger efforts to modernize the North. The development of a distinct Northern and Arctic Scouting program in the 1960s reveals the paradoxical contrast of the lofty rhetoric of science and progress of government planners and the realities faced by those working with local populations in the North, particularly with youth. Government officials and Scout leaders sought to help protect Inuit and Aboriginal boys from the vicissitudes of modernity, while

simultaneously preparing them for a limited economic participation in the modern North. As the Northwest Territories itself became an increasingly autonomous territory, eventually moving most of its governance and political structures from Ottawa to Yellowknife in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Scouting followed suit, creating a separate Northwest Territories Council. The years following this shift of governance and autonomy masked a lack of significant change in terms of the leadership of the Scout movement in the North, as government and military officials continued to dominate its upper echelons and Aboriginal leadership continued to be an object of concern.

The final chapter considers how Scouting and the federal government marshaled popular Scout gatherings such as Jamborees for nationalist aims in the North. The Arctic Jamborees, held at Prelude Lake near Yellowknife in 1968 and in Churchill, Manitoba in 1970, were symbolic of the Canadian Boy Scout movement's efforts to connect their northern and southern members in a nation-building exercise typical of the nationalist wave of the late 1960s. Organized at the height of Boy Scout Association efforts to extend their programming to the Canadian Arctic, particularly to Inuit youth, the Jamborees provided a unique public platform for the Canadian Boy Scout Association, in partnership with federal, provincial and territorial governments, to showcase the growth of the movement in the Canadian North. I argue that a close examination of the planning, promotion and staging of the Jamborees offered multiple, yet carefully crafted, "ideas of north," put into practice. These included bringing Inuit and Aboriginal Scouts into contact with the "modern" North, which organizers felt was destined to be the economic and cultural lynchpin of Canada, as well as using the more traditional geographic idea of North, as leaders sought to expose southern Canadian boys to physical and cultural elements of a more rugged yet modern Northern nationalism.

Chapter One: The Religion of the Backwoods:

Religion, Antimodernism and Scouting in French and English Canada

“Too often we forget when presenting religion to the boy that he sees it all from a very different point of view from that of the grown-up. Nor can true religion be taught as a lesson to a class in school.” - Baden-Powell, *The Scouter* – April 1918¹⁰²

From the beginnings of the Scout movement in Britain to its expansion throughout the British Empire, founder Robert Baden-Powell maintained an ambivalent attitude towards organized religion, though he was steadfast in his belief in the importance of faith in a man's life: “No man is much good unless he believes in God and obeys His laws. So every Scout should have a religion [...] Religion seems a very simple thing: First: Love and Serve God. Second: Love and serve your neighbour.”¹⁰³ Accordingly, every boy in the Scout movement was expected to be a participating member of a church and to fulfill his “duty to God” as part of the Scout Promise and Law. Writing in *The Scouter*, the official journal of the Scouting movement in England, Baden-Powell defended his deliberate refusal to have any “official religion” in Scouting, arguing that “traditional” religion had not proven itself capable of capturing the young male mind:

Personally, I have my own views as to the relative value of the instruction of children in Scripture history within the walls of the Sunday-school, and the value of Nature study and the practice of religion in the open air, but I will not impose my personal views upon others.¹⁰⁴

In reality, Baden-Powell could rarely resist offering up his views on religion and religious education. In one pithy article he criticized Sunday School teachers for failing to consider the

¹⁰² Quoted in Boy Scouts of Canada, *B.-P.'s Outlook: Selections from the Founder's contributions to The Scouter from 1909-1941* (Ottawa: National Council Boy Scouts of Canada, 1979), 69.

¹⁰³ Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship*, 9th ed. (London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1920), 235-236. Baden-Powell's religious views and Anglican upbringing are discussed in Rosenthal, *Character Factory*, 267-268; Macleod, *Building Character*, 132-141.

¹⁰⁴ Quoted in Boy Scouts of Canada, *B.-P.'s Outlook*, 27-28.

unique learning style of boys stuck in a classroom, arguing that “Boredom is not reverence, nor will it breed religion.”¹⁰⁵ In April of 1918, with war still raging across the Channel, Baden-Powell penned a lengthy article describing his views on the “Religion of the Backwoods.” It summarized his view of the interconnections between nature and men’s religious inspiration:

Some may object that the religion of the Backwoods is also a religion of the backward; and to some extent it is so. It is going back to the primitive, to the elemental, but at the same time it is to the common ground on which most forms of religion are based - namely, the appreciation of God and service to one's neighbour. But in many cases the form has become so overclothed that the original simple faith of Nature is hardly recognisable. We have come to judge a religion very much as we do a person - if we are snobbish - by its dress [...]

Yet the natural form in religion is so simple that a child can understand it; a boy can understand it, a Boy Scout can understand it. It comes from within, from conscience, from observation, from love, for use in all that he does. It is not a formality or a dogmatic dressing donned from outside, put on for Sunday wear. It is, therefore, a true part of his character, a development of soul, and not a veneer that may peel off.¹⁰⁶

His critique of traditional religious education for failing to consider that boys saw religion “from a very different point of view from that of the grown-up,” or that religion could not be taught to boys solely within the walls of the Sunday School tapped into deeper cultural and theological trends of his era.

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, upper and middle class men wrestled with profound social and economic change fuelled in part by the industrial revolution and urbanization. Faced with the erosion of their traditional bases for asserting power over others – their physical labour – upper and middle class men struggled to find other means of maintaining their sense of masculinity through a vigorous physical culture centred around sport

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 125.

¹⁰⁶ Baden-Powell quoted in Boy Scouts of Canada, *B.-P.'s Outlook*, 67-69.

and the outdoors.¹⁰⁷ Religious leaders, faced with an increasing disconnect between themselves and their male parishioners, tapped into this muscular male culture in the hopes of reinvigorating male Christian life. Religion, they felt, needed to be reconnected with a more muscular and primitive form of worship and practice in order to reengage men in church life. Muscular Christianity, with its emphasis on nature study and more “primitive” forms of religious experience, was part of an antimodernist reaction to increased urbanization and mechanization in industrial society in addition to reasserting male positions of power in what was perceived to be increasingly female dominated churches. Furthermore, as Sunday Schools struggled to retain the interest of older boys, and therefore to keep them connected to church life, religious leaders sought new religious education models which would engage boys in a more muscular form of Christianity in order to ensure both the survival of the church, as well as sustaining a Christian future for the nation.¹⁰⁸

This chapter explores the meaning and importance of ‘Duty to God’ in the Canadian Boy Scout movement from its initial expansion into Canada in 1908 through to the 1930s. It connects the adult construction and understanding of boys’ religion to broader questions of masculinity

¹⁰⁷ For more on the cultural and social change fuelling this “crisis” see Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1995); Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993); Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, (London: Pearson Longman, 2005).

¹⁰⁸ On boys, masculinity and muscular Christianity see, Anthony Rotundo, “Boy Culture: Middle Class Boyhood in Nineteenth-Century America,” in *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America* ed. Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen (London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 15-36; Craig Heron, “Boys Will Be Boys: Working-Class Masculinities in the Age of Mass Production,” *International Labor and Working-Class History* 69 (Spring 2006), 6-34. On boys’ movements like the Boy Scouts and the YMCA, see David Macleod, “A Live Vaccine: the YMCA and Male Adolescence in the United States and Canada, 1870-1920,” *Histoire Sociale/Social History* XI (May, 1978), 5-25; Mark Moss *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2001); Allen Warren, “Popular Manliness: Baden Powell, Scouting and the Development of Manly Characters,” in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, edited by J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 199-219; John Springhall, “Building Character in the British Boy: The Attempt to Extend Christian Manliness to Working Class Adolescents, 1880-1914,” in *Manliness and Morality*, 52-74.

and religiosity in the early twentieth century. The Canadian Boy Scout movement during this period faced the challenges of a fracture along linguistic and religious lines (with the creation of a separate Scout association for French-Canadian Catholics in Quebec) and competed with other church-based boys' movements like the Tuxis and Trail Rangers. Canadian religious leaders - French-Canadian Catholic and English-Canadian Protestant alike - worried about the religious lives of boys in their congregations. These worries tapped into deeper concerns about declining Christian masculinity and male church membership as much as they did any particular conceptions of a child's religious worldview. In this context, boys' religious training reflected broader attempts to reinvigorate Christianity through antimodernist masculine ideals and experiences in the hopes of preparing them for a more enduring and meaningful church membership in adulthood.

New Zealand historian Geoffrey Troughton argues that children's religion, both in its lived experience and in adult attempts to shape it, differed markedly from that of adults. Scholars wishing to understand the religious lives of children need to look beyond the walls of the church and Sunday School. As Troughton contends, the religious world taught to children "had its own distinctive vocabularies and expectations," that often differed from adult standards of religiosity; religious teachings for children often conflated moral guidance and 'religion' for instance.¹⁰⁹ This chapter argues that the study of the adult construction and conception of children's religious lives needs to be broadened to consider the full spectrum of efforts to mould children's spirituality and faith. The Canadian Boy Scout movement has yet to be considered as an active contributor to the construction of boys' religious lives. More often it is framed simply as the competition for more denominationally-defined boys' movements - something to be opposed or

¹⁰⁹ Geoffrey Troughton, "Religion, Churches and Childhood in New Zealand, C.1900-1940," *New Zealand Journal of History* 40, no. 1 (2006), 39.

copied, rather than part of a broader attempt to construct religious boyhoods.¹¹⁰ The Canadian Boy Scout movement aspired to reach as many boys as possible and thus sought to avoid overtly denominational understandings of religion in general programming, while also seeking to teach boys about religious faith and Christian ideals at a level that was understandable to them. The relationship between Scouting and Canadian churches can be characterized as one of complementary, if not always cooperative, efforts to raise morally upright, responsible boys to be leaders of their church and nation.

In his *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*, T.J. Jackson Lears argues that both in “Europe and America, the antimodern impulse was rooted in what can aptly be called a crisis of cultural authority,” as elites grappled with the disorienting effects of modernity on their assumed natural positions as social leaders.¹¹¹ This elite and middle class reaction to industrialization, urbanization, and mass culture could take many forms, argues Lears, but of particular interest to the study of Scouting is a renewed fascination with medieval chivalry and primitive spirituality. The popularity in antimodernist literature and religious imagery of the figure of the chivalric Knight, with his simultaneously pure morality and martial qualities, was, Lears argues, part of the antimodernist rejection of modern comforts.¹¹² In not only idealizing, but seeking to experience the invigorating and emotional primitivism of medievalist culture, many Americans sought to return to a more primitive environment in the quest for “intensive experience,” to be used as an antidote to modern malaise.¹¹³ In Scouting, this quest for experience came through contact with Nature.

¹¹⁰ Dirks, “‘Getting a Grip on Harry’”: 67-82.

¹¹¹ T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 5.

¹¹² Ibid., 121

¹¹³ Ibid., 157-160.

Antimodernism found a ready home in Canada, where Canadian nationalists have long tied assumed masculine identities to virtues bequeathed by the perceived harsh climate.¹¹⁴ Lears' argument about the reactionary nature of antimodernism, however, is usually only incorporated into works of Canadian cultural or environmental history.¹¹⁵ More generally, the conceptions of 'national' identity in French and English Canada are rarely compared.¹¹⁶ Historians of childhood and youth in English Canada, meanwhile, have focused on issues of imperialism, nationalism and gender within youth movements and children's culture during the early twentieth century, but have largely limited their considerations of children's religion to denominational youth movements and children's literature.¹¹⁷ Sharon Wall, in her recent study of the summer camp movement in Ontario, has explored the connection between nature and religion in summer camp programming and noted that both secular and religious summer camp organizers saw contact with nature and 'primitive' spirituality through 'playing Indian' as important in the religious education of children that helped connect them to a simplified, more accessible, form of spirituality. Nature and exploring "primitive" spirituality were seen as ways to engage children's religious imaginations, an idea the Scout movement would fully exploit. Unlike the camping

¹¹⁴ See, for example, Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 128-52; Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 136-62.

¹¹⁵ For example: Ross D. Cameron, "Tom Thomson, Antimodernism, and the Ideal of Manhood," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 10, no.1 (1999): 185-208; Lynda Jessup, "Prospectors, Bushwhackers, Painters: Antimodernism and the Group of Seven," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 17 (1998): 193-214; Tina Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006).

¹¹⁶ Sylvie Lacombe, *Rencontre de deux peuples élus : comparaison des ambitions nationale et impériale au Canada entre 1896 et 1920* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2002).

¹¹⁷ Cynthia R. Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth: Adolescence and the Making of a Modern Canada, 1920-1950* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006), 189-201; Susan R. Fisher, *Boys and Girls in No Man's Land: English-Canadian Children and the First World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 19-22, 116-19; Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2001); Dirks, "Getting a Grip on Harry'."

experiences studied by Wall, Scouting made larger claims about its abilities to influence the religious lives of boys beyond the occasional camping trip.¹¹⁸

Churches and the “Boy Problem”

When Scouting expanded to Canada shortly after its birth in Britain in 1908, it found fertile ground for boys’ work, particularly within Canadian Protestant churches. Many Canadians of British heritage continued to read British literature and periodicals and Canadian boys were immersed in the popular adventure novels of the day, dating back to the classic *Tom Brown’s School Days* and carrying well into the early twentieth century.¹¹⁹ Many of the first Scoutmasters in Canada recall reading about Scouting in British magazines for boy leaders and youth such as *Boys’ Own* and *Boys’ Herald*.¹²⁰ Many early Scout troops in Canada trace their roots back to British migrants, many of them Anglican or Methodist ministers, who had been exposed to the movement in Britain before coming to Canada, or who heard about the movement through continued contact with friends and colleagues overseas.¹²¹

Concern about the spiritual and material future of children and adolescents, particularly boys, in Canada had seized the imaginations of religious leaders and lay people as early as the mid nineteenth century. Canadian church leaders, like their colleagues in Britain and the United States, wrestled with changing theological and social conceptions of childhood as social, economic and political change increasingly nudged childhood and adolescence to the forefront of

¹¹⁸ Wall, *The Nurture of Nature*, 223-46.

¹¹⁹ Fisher, *Boys and Girls in No Man’s Land*, 154-182; J.A. Mangan, “Noble Specimens of Manhood: Schoolboy Literature and the Creation of a Colonial Chivalric Code,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 27, nos. 1-2 (January 2010): 389-408.

¹²⁰ Taylor Statten of the YMCA, for instance, recalled reading about the work of the Boy Scouts because a colleague had returned from England with a copy of *Scouting for Boys*, see Patricia Dirks, “Canada’s Boys,” 112; R.H. MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 193-195.

¹²¹ One such example is in Calgary, Honour Minuk, “In the Beginning,” in *Scouting in Calgary : Boy Scout Groups and Activities, 1910-1974 : Accounts by Calgary Authors*, ed. Ted Baines. (Calgary: Century Calgary Publications, 1975), 5-11. Dirks traces many of these connections in “Canada’s Boys,” 110-112

social and religious concern. New child labour legislation, a product of the Industrial Revolution, as well as expanding mandatory schooling legislation set childhood and adolescence aside as periods separate from adulthood. Furthermore, social reformers placed increasing emphasis on the role of the home and family in raising healthy children. Religious leaders and reformers were often at the forefront of this push to reinvigorate the sanctity and importance of home and family as religion increasingly became a private affair.¹²²

If religion was increasingly seen as a domestic, or private affair, it was also increasingly associated with the feminine. As historian Ann Douglas argues in her benchmark work on American culture, churches had become increasingly dependent on and supported by women; they populated the committees, ran the Sunday Schools and the auxiliaries and filled the pews on Sundays, despite the church remaining a largely male-run institution at its upper echelons.¹²³ This transformed the tenor of religious culture as men reacted against what they saw as the “feminization” of religion and its associated educational efforts with youth. Muscular Christianity, with its emphasis on more vigorous, virile forms of worship and male-centred religiosity, thus resonated with many middle class men both in the broader context of wider concerns over threats to middle class white masculinity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and within the context of fears of an increasingly “feminized” church.¹²⁴

The question of the place of children in the church community was swept up in many of these broader concerns. Religious writers and educators like Horace Bushnell and Catherine Beecher tackled the issue of children’s religious understanding in the nineteenth century, arguing

¹²² For more on the shift of religious life from the public to the domestic see Dirks, “Reinventing Christian Masculinity and Fatherhood,” 290-316.

¹²³ Anne Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Anchor Press, 1988); for discussions of the “feminization” of the churches in Canada see, Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 53-80; Lucille Marr, “Church Teen Clubs, Feminized Organizations? Tuxis Boys, Trail Rangers, and Canadian Girls in Training, 1919-1939,” *Historical Studies in Education* 3, 2 (1991): 249-267.

¹²⁴ For more on the development of muscular Christianity, see Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 222-246.

in favour of a conception of religious maturation that emphasized the role of family and a gradual development of religious habits in children as the best route to lasting faith in the tumultuous time of childhood.¹²⁵ G. Stanley Hall, one of the first specialists in child psychology and an influential figure within religious education circles, reinforced this notion that childhood and early adolescent years were crucial times of storm and stress when an individual's moral and religious personality could be most profoundly shaped. Hall's notions of storm and stress and "gang instinct" amongst boys inspired religious leaders to focus their attention on developing new religious education models which would engage boys in a more muscular form of Christianity to combat declining male involvement in church life.¹²⁶

The changes in attitudes towards the place of children and adolescents within church communities also reflected the conviction of many that the task of the church, and religious education in particular, was to nurture young children into future Christian citizens, both of their church and nation. In 1902 and 1903, for instance, the Rev. G.W. Kerby urged his fellow Methodist clergy in Toronto and Montreal to take boys' work seriously by reaching out beyond existing Sunday School structures to connect with the three quarters of young men who had "no practical interest in the church and its organizations." Kerby admonished his fellow churchmen

¹²⁵ See further Joseph Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), 84, 114-20; Margaret Bendroth, "Horace Bushnell's *Christian Nurture*," in *The Child in Christian Thought*, ed. Marcia J. Bunge (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2001), 350-64. For Canada see: Neil Semple, "'The Nurture and Admonition of the Lord': Nineteenth-Century Canadian Methodism's Response to 'Childhood,'" *Social History* 14, no. 27 (1981): 157-76.

¹²⁶ On boys, masculinity and muscular Christianity see, Anthony Rotundo, "Boy Culture: Middle Class Boyhood in Nineteenth-Century America," in *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America* ed. Mark C. Carnes & Clyde Griffen (London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 15-36; Craig Heron, "Boys Will Be Boys: Working-Class Masculinities in the Age of Mass Production," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 69 (Spring 2006): 6-34. On boys' movements like the Boy Scouts and the YMCA, see David Macleod, "A Live Vaccine: the YMCA and Male Adolescence in the United States and Canada, 1870-1920," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* XI (May, 1978): 5-25; Allen Warren, "Popular Manliness: Baden Powell, Scouting and the Development of Manly Characters," in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*, eds. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 199-219; John Springhall, "Building Character in the British Boy: The Attempt to Extend Christian Manliness to Working Class Adolescents, 1880-1914," in *Manliness and Morality*, 52-74; Patricia Dirks "'Getting a Grip on Harry'."

to find new ways “to save our boys and rally the young manhood to the work of the church and the problems of our country.”¹²⁷ Similarly, both the Presbyterian Church and Church of England in Canada worried that their Sunday School efforts were lacking, particularly in regards to boys’ work.¹²⁸

The fear that Sunday Schools were failing to retain boys in church life pushed many Protestant churches to look for alternatives. The question that remained was, what kind of organization should be adapted to suit the churches’ purpose? The Committee on Sunday Schools and Epworth Leagues of the Methodist General Conference took a blanket approach, recommending in 1910 that “Boy Scouts, Boys’ Brigades and similar organizations for the cultivation of true manliness in boys, may be organized under the supervision of the Circuit Superintendent, and when approved by the Quarterly Official Board, shall be recognized as coming under the directions of our general board.”¹²⁹ The Anglican Church’s national Sunday School Commission, formed in 1908, wrestled with how to keep boys interested and engaged in Sunday School classes. One remedy, proposed in 1912, was to offer a special focus on developing Missionary Clubs (where children would read and learn about Anglican missionary work abroad and work to raise funds for missionary work) specifically targeted to boys. Reading about the exciting and often adventurous work of missionaries, they hoped, would help make Sunday School activities “more attractive and effective, especially for boys in their teens.”¹³⁰ The suggestion was slow to catch on, as only 25 such clubs had been created by 1915.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Cited in Dirks “‘Getting a Grip on Harry,’” 72.

¹²⁸ Dirks “Finding the ‘Canadian’ Way,” 310-311.

¹²⁹ Methodist Church of Canada. *Journal of Proceedings of the Eighth General Conference of the Methodist Church* (1910), 468.

¹³⁰ Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives (GSA), General Board of Religious Education (GBRE) 75-104, Series 3, Sunday School Commission of the Church of England in Canada, 1908-1918, Box 1, File 4, Sunday School Commission of the Church of England in Canada – Annual reports 1908-1919, Annual Report, 1912-1913, 15.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, Annual Report, 1914-1915, 14.

Canadian Boy Scout officials, likely in reaction to early lukewarm reaction to the movement from some quarters of the religious education field, moved quickly to assuage Canadians about the potential of the movement to foster boys' religiosity. The Executive of the Quebec Provincial Council of the Scout Association explained Scouting's openness to religious pluralism in a 1912 pamphlet entitled *The Scout Movement: What it is, What it is Not*.¹³² It argued that Scouting "was more of a Movement than an organization. It comes as an opportunity to supplement rather than supplant the activities of existing agencies, by introducing into their programme unique features, appealing to legitimate interests which are universal among boys."¹³³ While emphasizing that Scouting was not militaristic or meant to replace regular schooling, the pamphlet placed the greatest emphasis on the non-sectarian, non-denominational religious character of Scouting. The pamphlet echoed Stanley Hall's assessment of early adolescence as a key period of religious awakening in boys:

The Boy in the adolescent period is naturally religious and any organization attempting work with him must recognize this if the best results are to be looked for. The Scout Movement looks for a symmetrical development of the three sides of his nature – spirit, mind and body. The first part of the scout's oath is therefore, "I promise to do my duty to God and the King." The recognition of God as a Supreme Being and the grateful acknowledgement of his care, expressed in service for others, is a wholesome and natural thing for the growing boy.¹³⁴

Not coincidentally, 1912 was also the year that the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) first unveiled its own boys' religious movement, the Canadian Standard Efficiency Test program (CSET). The publication of a pamphlet clarifying the Boy Scout's own religious potential and policy was therefore not simply an attempt to recruit parents and their children to the movement, but also a likely move to counteract any potential competition with the new YMCA movement.

¹³² Boy Scouts Association (Canada), *The Scout Movement : What it is, What it is Not* (Montreal : Quebec Provincial Headquarters, 1912).

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

“In God’s Open Air”: Scouting and CSET

In his work on boys’ movements, David Macleod describes the YMCA as one of the largest and most innovative boys’ work associations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; the association’s boys’ work secretaries were among the first social work professionals to devote themselves exclusively to boys’ and adolescent psychology.¹³⁵ G. Stanley Hall’s theories on recapitulation and religious conversion in adolescence found a hungry audience amongst their leaders.¹³⁶ The association had significant cross-border networks between Canada and the United States, and boys’ workers from both sides of the border contributed to the elaboration of a muscular Christian service model based largely on providing recreation centres for boys to keep them off the streets and out of pernicious activities and, hopefully, to coax them into church membership, or at least the occasional Gospel meeting. By providing controlled space for boys’ assumed savage and vigorous energies, YMCA officials hoped to channel and control that energy to positive ends such as moral education and exercise. Associating the emotional with the feminine, YMCA workers eschewed emotional calls to piety, preferring instead to stoke boys’ enthusiasm with calls to action and service. Boys, they felt, were “doers” when it came to religion, and should not be taught with abstract or emotional (i.e. feminine) concepts and pedagogies.¹³⁷

Though the “Y” was effective at providing physical space for recreation and outreach for boys, it struggled with how best to provide a more balanced approach to boys which reflected its traditional emphasis on the “fourfold” side of an individual’s nature – the spiritual, physical, intellectual and social. Some YMCA boys’ workers, such as Taylor Statten, Boys’ Work

¹³⁵ Macleod, “A Live Vaccine,” 5-25. See also Murray G. Ross, *The Y.M.C.A. in Canada: The Chronicle of a Century* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1951), 194-195.

¹³⁶ Macleod “A Live Vaccine,” 11.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 12-18.

Secretary for the Toronto YMCA and, after 1912, Boys' Work Secretary for the new Dominion Council of the YMCA in Canada, searched for a new model for a complete programme, divided by age-appropriate pedagogies. After experimenting briefly with the newly arrived Boy Scout model, Statten decided to strike out on his own and create a program more overtly centred on religious precepts.¹³⁸

Under Statten's guidance the YMCA boys' work board set out to establish the outlines of a new midweek program for boys. CSET took as its motto a passage from Luke 2:52, "And Jesus grew in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and men," which signalled the program's intent to develop a boy's spirituality and to encourage him to make a "decision for Christ" in a boisterous, vigorous masculine setting where sport, physical achievement and intellectual activity were emphasized.¹³⁹ The YMCA then reached out to mainline Canadian Protestant churches in the hopes of expanding the reach of their new program. Canada's Protestant churches had all grown frustrated with the constant financial shortfalls faced by Sunday School and religious education efforts within their various religious education strategies. By 1914 the Presbyterian, Methodist and Anglican churches of Canada were all calling for a renewed cross-faith effort in children's work, particularly boys' work. As a result, a group of Canadian Protestant churches and the Canadian YMCA's Boys' Work Board joined forces in 1914 in the creation of the National Advisory Committee for Co-Operation in Boys' Work (NACCBW), which became the managing and promotional body for CSET.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Dirks, "Canada's Boys," 124; C.A.M. Edwards, *Taylor Statten: A Biography* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1960), 44-45.

¹³⁹ For more on the creation of CSET and Taylor Statten's role, see Edwards, *Taylor Statten*, 44-48; Marr, "Church Teen Clubs," 250-253; Dirks, "'Getting a Grip on Harry,'" 74-80.

¹⁴⁰ For more on the creation of the NAACBW see Patricia Dirks, "Reinventing Christian Masculinity and Fatherhood," 302-305. Churches represented at the inaugural meeting included: representatives of the YMCA, Presbyterian Church, Methodist Church, Church of England, Baptist Church, Congregational Church and Canadian Inter-Provincial Sunday School Council, LAC, Canadian Council of Churches, MG28 I327, Volume 22, File 1,

The outbreak of war in 1914 both heightened the fervour for boys' work and strained the already creaking boys' work infrastructure of the churches. Church youth workers, caught up in the nationalist fervour of the war, worried about what heavy losses in Europe might mean for the nation after the war. They fretted about the religious education of the next generation of Canadian men. Anglican leaders, for instance, touted the work of the NACCBW and its program for boys, arguing, "There never was a time when so much depended on our boys. The thinning out of the ranks of our young men as a result of this devastating war throws a very heavy responsibility upon the generation which is coming on towards manhood."¹⁴¹ Throughout the war, church leaders continued to connect the failure to keep boys interested in church life with inevitable national decline. Training the next generation of leaders (all assumed to be men) in spiritual and temporal matters of citizenship was, they argued, vital to the future of "our Nation, as of our Church."¹⁴²

The Religious Education Council of Canada (RECC) was created as a result of this perceived need for consolidation and cooperation between Protestant churches and began operations in early 1919. By 1920 its membership had expanded beyond denominational and non-denominational Sunday School leaders to include the National Advisory Committees for Cooperation in Boys' and Girls' Work, as well as representatives from the YMCA and YWCA.¹⁴³ Despite the unification of resources and ideas in the RECC, the National Advisory Committee for Co-Operation in Boys' Work continued to operate much as it had before the

National Advisory Committee for Cooperation in Boys' Work Minutes, Executive, sub-committee and annual meetings – 1914-1917, Meeting, May 13, 1914.

¹⁴¹ GSA, GBRE, 75-104, Series 3 Sunday School Commission of the Church of England in Canada, 1908-1918, Box 1, File 4 – Sunday School Commission of the Church of England in Canada – Annual reports 1908-1919, Annual Report, 1915-1916, 22. This same report also noted, almost as an afterthought, the creation of a National Advisory Committee for Co-Operation in Girls' Work a year later.

¹⁴² GSA, GBRE, 75-104, Series 3 Sunday School Commission of the Church of England in Canada, 1908-1918, Box 1, File 4 – Sunday School Commission of the Church of England in Canada – Annual reports 1908-1919, Annual Report, 1916-1917, 7.

¹⁴³ Patricia Dirks, "Finding the 'Canadian' Way," 314-315.

creation of the new organization. The YMCA's own Boys' Work Board also continued to operate independently, focusing on the development and promotion of its CSET program. As the war came to a close, boys' workers both in the YMCA and in the NACCBW worried about the future of boyhood in the country. An internal planning document of the YMCA Boys' Work Board, for instance, worried that rapid technological change and urbanization threatened to weaken boys' connection to home, church and school through the "formal, artificial, cut-and-dried" nature of school, church and home life. The Board's members yearned for a return to a simple, more "primitive" element in these important areas of a boy's life when, they claimed, "his 'church' was made up of certain ceremonies by which he tested out the unseen, but powerful, real, spiritual forces in external nature [...] How can we create, on the part of the growing boy a spontaneous sympathetic attitude to those institutions which must bulk (sic) permanently and largely in his life?"¹⁴⁴

The answer, many felt, was in a virile boys' program which covered all areas of a boy's interest – sports and outdoor activity, as well as training in good Christian citizenship and spiritual teachings. Many felt that the future of both the churches and the nation was at stake. Investment in the development of boys, therefore, was a wise one for both church and state. A November editorial in the Methodist *Christian Guardian*, for instance, opined that "Our boys are worth more than our banks, our factories, our fisheries, our mines and our farms all rolled into one. Our boys are too good to be lost, too valuable to be neglected, too useful to be wasted, and altogether too lovable to be forgotten. What are we doing with them?"¹⁴⁵ This commitment to

¹⁴⁴ LAC, Canadian Council of Churches, MG28 I327, Volume 22, File 2, National Advisory Committee for Cooperation in Boys' Work Minutes - Executive, sub-committee and annual meetings – 1918, Ten Year Policy, 1920-1950, Boys' Work Division, National Council of Y.M.C.A's of Canada, adopted at Conference of Boys' Work Staff, Toronto, Nov. 6-9, 1918 and at Meeting of National Boys' Work Committee, Clarkson, Ont, November 9, 10, 1918.

¹⁴⁵ *Christian Guardian*, November 6, 1918.

boys' work, at least on the part of religious educators, led to the RECC taking on full responsibility for planning and promoting the expansion of the CSET movement in 1921, when the YMCA ran into financial troubles and had to cut back on its boys' work budget.¹⁴⁶

The CSET movement incorporated then-current tenets of child and adolescent psychology. Like the Scout movement, CSET divided boys by age in order to target more age-appropriate pursuits. Unlike Scouting, which accepted boys as young as 9 by 1916 in its Wolf Cub program, CSET initially restricted membership to boys between twelve and seventeen years of age. Boys aged twelve to fourteen fell into the Trail Rangers' movement, while senior boys were included in the Tuxis. Both programs incorporated Hall's theories about boys' assumed natural "gang instinct" and emphasized working in small groups, called "patrols" in Scouts, "camps" in Trail Rangers and, in the case of the Tuxis, the "square." CSET focused its training program on a progressive series of tests in all four facets of its targeted development, though most tests concentrated on physical feats or knowledge of Canada's place in the world. Indeed, as some scholars have pointed out, CSET's developers – largely middle class evangelistic Protestants – had a more Canadian-centred sense of national identity than early twentieth century Boy Scout leaders, who largely saw Canada as an integral part of the British Empire.¹⁴⁷ Nationalist visions aside, CSET's promoters saw its main value as keeping boys within the church's fold. They hoped that it would help them see religion as a "manly" pursuit and a key component of them eventually assuming responsible manhood, arguing that "In this twentieth century, masterful men of powerful influence possess strong bodies with sound minds and they

¹⁴⁶ Marr, "Church Teen Clubs," 252.

¹⁴⁷ Patricia Dirks, "Canada's Boys," 111-128.

must maintain an unselfish brotherly interest in their fellow men and strive to be in harmony with the great will of God.”¹⁴⁸

Like the Boy Scouts, CSET’s designers focused much of their program on developing skills and habits which would serve boys in adulthood. Badges could be earned for twenty-four different skills and proficiencies, including meeting defined standards in areas such as first aid, public speaking, astronomy, Indian life, and knowledge of Christian heroes, while others could be earned for disciplined life style choices such as cycling frequently and avoiding unhealthy habits.¹⁴⁹ Religiosity, though not officially recognized through a badge, was an integral part of the system of tests and standards within the movement. Echoing the theories of child experts like G. Stanley Hall, CSET’s developers argued that the teenage years were a crucial period when a boy begins “to get a deeper insight into the inner meaning of things.”¹⁵⁰ The teen years, they contended, were when boys pass “through the years of largest expansion for the emotional nature, during which the high water mark of religious awakening is reached.”¹⁵¹

The CSET movement sought to channel and control this susceptibility to “emotional appeal” of the teen years with a more manly image of religious life through a program of camping, service and physical activity. Camping and nature study were key components of this strategy. As CSET organizers argued, “In God’s open air at all times there is more time for thought, for communion, for observation, for all those things that help to make life worth while.”¹⁵² Nature study was coupled with a particular appreciation of the power and potential of the outdoors – both spiritual and economic. CSET leaders did not want to quash the sharp

¹⁴⁸ Quoted in Patricia Dirks, “Reinventing Christian Masculinity and Fatherhood,” 301-302.

¹⁴⁹ For examples of some of the “tests” and badges that could be earned, see *The Canadian Standard Efficiency Manual for Tuxis Boys* (Toronto: Committee on Canadian Standard Efficiency Training, 1918), 47-48, 58-69, 405-420.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 61.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid., 181.

business and economic eye of the boy, but rather supplement it with a spiritual appreciation of Nature. A walk in the woods for instance, should carry dual meanings of economic and spiritual growth potential for the boy. “When you take a walk in the woods,” began the CSET handbook, “do you see so many thousand dollars’ worth of lumber or does the divine in God’s out-of-doors speak to you through the breezes in the trees, the bees upon the flowers, and the songs of the birds? [...]does the infinite work of God strike you as you look at suns and planets – worlds in the making, and think of the change and the order of the universe that envelops us?”¹⁵³

CSET leaders saw outdoor activity as key to sparking boys’ spiritual imaginations, though they made a much more concerted effort to connect these physical activities to the life of the Sunday School and congregation. By the time a boy reached the age of seventeen and the end of the program, they hoped that the spiritual training he had received in the movement (consisting mostly of encouraging daily prayer, Bible study, church attendance, nature study, and studying the church’s governance structures) would have prepared him to enter willingly and fully into the life of his church. Ideally, they argued, the seventeen year-old boy attending a Sunday service would be inspired by the same “spirit that captures a boy standing in solemn silence on the shore of some lake encircled by the forest and watching the moonlight on its surface, says ‘Surely, God must enjoy beautiful things, to put this here where, for years, no one has seen it but Himself,’ to the same sense of wonder at the hymns, organ music and the sight of his neighbours worshipping with him to “send him away feeling that God needs his boyish life in carrying on His Great work in the world.”¹⁵⁴

The Canadian Scout movement, meanwhile, also emphasized the role of nature, outdoor activity and learning about medieval and Christian Heroes. The *Handbook for Canada of the Boy*

¹⁵³ Ibid., 69.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 61-62.

Scouts Association, which underwent only minor modifications between 1919 and 1939, was rife with antimodernist homages to medieval chivalry and the power of nature. In its preface to parents, the writers of the *Handbook* argued that Scouting offered outdoor pursuits that would improve their boys' "health, strength and happiness," and that the Scout Law and Promise would build their boys' characters. "Under such influences," they argued, "the boy mind is more easily turned to the higher things of life."¹⁵⁵ In a chapter on "The Honour of a Scout," for instance, Scouting was compared to the chivalric orders of old, "The Knights of old were the patrol leaders of their day and their men at arms the Scouts. Like the Scouts, they were pledged to do a good turn to somebody every day."¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, the writers of the *Handbook* explained that the ideals of Knighthood and chivalry were not far removed from Canadian boys' – both French and English - own history. The pioneers, "both of French and British origin," showed knightly perseverance, faith and "pluck" in establishing civilization in the dangerous "unknown forests, lakes and streams," of Canada:

[...] the conditions of life which confronted the Knights of the Round Table, the Crusaders, and the pioneers of settlement and religion in North America, no longer exist. Yet there is continuing need for the spirit of chivalry in our homes, on the street, in our games and sports, in our public life and in business and commercial affairs; and it is one of the aims of the Boy Scout movement to keep alive amongst us the rules of fair play which have done so much for the moral tone of our race.¹⁵⁷

The chivalric ideal was lauded not only for its exemplary courage and "pluck," but also for its devotion to God. Like the Knight who would spend many hours praying so that "God might

¹⁵⁵ *Revised Handbook for Canada of the Boy Scouts Association* (Ottawa. Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 1930), ii-iii.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 113.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 113-114.

make him worthy of his high estate,” the Scout “should seek God's help that they may be enabled to serve Him worthily under all the changing circumstances of life.”¹⁵⁸

Subsequent lengthy chapters on Nature and Camping reminded parents and boys alike about the modern, practical usefulness of Scouting in effectively harnessing the gang instinct:

The Boy Scout Camp satisfies that 'get away from home' urge which from time to time stirs in the heart of every normal boy; particularly the 'gypsy' in town or city boy, restive after the restrictions of the winter and the school, that longs for the free spaces of the woods and the lakes, the simple rough life of camp, and the company of a 'gang' of his kind. It is this impulse, unwisely met, that has produced runaway boys.¹⁵⁹

There continued to be a spiritual element in the fun-filled, wanderlust-satisfying life of the Boy Scout Camp. The nightly camp-fire, with its highly ritualized opening and closing ceremonies (singing of the national anthem, the Scout Master declaring the ceremony open and closed with sweeping gestures over the fire, followed by a program of skits, hymns and stories and ending with a Scout's Prayer or, in the case of a multi-denominational troop, a “Scout's Silence” before heading off to bed) was meant to inspire reflection:

The glare of the wood fire in the gathering darkness has something in it that quickens the dullest imagination and the Scoutmaster will find the boys' minds wide open to the influence of stories which suggest the highest ideals of manhood. A well-selected story often has more influence than direct advice.¹⁶⁰

The mystique of the campfire, with its rituals, anthems and hymns was meant to build the moral character of the boys. This moral character was of a non-denominational Christian variety, but Christian nonetheless.

Scouting and CSET thus worked with similar understandings of how to approach and inspire boys' spiritual education. Built on the theories of childhood and adolescence of the

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 114-115.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 321.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 350.

emerging field of child and adolescent psychology spearheaded by G. Stanley Hall, Scouting and CSET promoters worked to get boys into a more active and vigorous form of religious education than what they felt occurred within Sunday School walls. In spite of these shared pedagogical and antimodernist roots, Scouting and CSET expanded on parallel, if not oppositional, tracks during the interwar period. The closest the two organizations came to presenting a united public front during the interwar period came at the 1919 National Conference on Character Education, held in Winnipeg in October of 1919. The conference was the brainchild of local business associations like Rotary and Manitoba's Lieutenant-Governor, Sir James Aikins, and came on the heels of the violence, ethnic and class tensions of the Winnipeg General Strike. Many of the conference speakers rallied around education and the proper training of children as a solution to class and ethnic tensions in Canada. In the words of one speaker "the manufacture of souls of good quality," should be the main aim of education. 1,500 delegates attended the conference, and speakers represented a broad cross section of Canadian education, business, religious and political associations. The short-lived National Council of Education was borne out of its deliberations.¹⁶¹

Canadian Chief Commissioner of Scouting, J.W. Robertson, and Taylor Statten of the YMCA were the keynote speakers at the conference in a session entitled "Auxiliaries to the School in Moral Training," the morning of October 21st.¹⁶² Both men provided overviews of their

¹⁶¹ Tom Mitchell, "The Manufacture of Souls of Good Quality': Winnipeg's 1919 National Conference on Citizenship, English-Canadian Nationalism, and the New Order after the Great War." *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 31 (1996-97), 5-28; Tom Mitchell and James Naylor, "The Prairies: In the Eye of the Storm," in *The Workers' Revolt in Canada, 1917-1925*, ed. by Craig Heron, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 176-230. For more on the conference, and the creation of the Council, see Rosa Bruno-Jofré, "Citizenship and Schooling in Manitoba between the End of the First World War and the End of the Second World War," in *Citizenship in Transformation in Canada*, ed. by Yvonne M. Hébert, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 112-133; Karen A. Finlay, *The Force of Culture: Vincent Massey and Canadian Sovereignty* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 51-76; Alf Chaiton, "The History of the National Council of Education," (MA thesis: University of Toronto, 1974).

¹⁶² *Report of the Proceedings of the National Conference on Character Education in Relation to Canadian Citizenship* (Winnipeg, s.n., 1919), Appendix B (Programme).

respective movements, in terms of their development and objectives. Robertson took care to reiterate that Scouting was not meant to replace the home, school or church in the education of boys, but that it “tries to do for the boy, and provide opportunity for the boy to do for himself what these have not, so far, been able to accomplish.”¹⁶³ He worked to highlight the ways in which Scouting could complement the religious education work of churches, claiming “all of us are working to the same end [...] producing what we all believe to be the highest good – good character and good citizenship.”¹⁶⁴ In this context, Robertson connected “character” with spirituality. In a section of his speech on “the spirit of Scouting,” Robertson discussed the Scout promise to “Do my duty to God and the King,” and to obey the Scout Law. Briefly describing the Scout Law as a ten-fold commitment to be trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly, courteous, kind, obedient, cheerful, thrifty and clean, Robertson argued that, numerical symmetry aside, “The Scout Law is not intended as a substitute for the Ten Commandments or the two-fold law of Christ: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, and thy neighbor as thyself.” Rather, it translated them into a form more accessible to boys through the Scout Promise and Law.¹⁶⁵

If the Christian parallels were not yet clear enough to his audience, Robertson also offered that the Scoutmaster’s task was to “speak to them [Scouts] in parables” which “bring before the minds of the boys in a clear way the objective of good character and fine conduct.”¹⁶⁶ Further, the Scoutmaster acted as an important mentor, replacing what Robertson felt was the lost form of shared role-modeling of families in rural areas, because boys in towns “share less and less in doing things which occupy their parents and elders. In the past the participation of children in the arts of daily life has been an important element in making wholesome men and

¹⁶³ Ibid., 42.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 40-41.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 41.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 41

women.”¹⁶⁷ Like Christ, then, the Scoutmaster could act as parent, guide and inspiration, leading by example and through story and action, leading his boys to the path of loyal citizenship and moral guidance. The purpose of this guidance and activity, he argued, was to lead boys to develop the habit of “the flower of fine citizenship,” of social service, “The Scout learns the art by doing his good turn daily.”

Taylor Statten, meanwhile, also gave a historical and pedagogical overview of the development of the CSET movement, connecting it to the fourfold mission of the YMCA as well as to broader needs of preventing the loss of boys from Protestant Sunday Schools.¹⁶⁸ After outlining how CSET used Jesus Christ as the ultimate example of the symmetrical man, Statten made a pointed criticism of the turn modern Protestantism had taken in leaving the physical, intellectual and service areas of education to the “remarkable growth of Organizations, Associations and Societies outside the Church for the promotion of physical, intellectual and social activities, not only as adults, but also of young people and boys and girls. Many of these organizations have tended in the long run to weaken rather than strengthen the position of the church as a unifying factor in life.”¹⁶⁹ CSET he argued, unified all of these facets once again under one organizational and educational roof. Statten closed by noting that CSET was a “Made-in-Canada product for training Canadian boys in Canadian citizenship,” once again separating himself from the more imperialist viewpoint of the Scouts.¹⁷⁰

Both men spoke about common objectives, namely the moral and physical training of boys, and shared many assumptions about the power of nature, physical activity, and action in developing a boy’s religious faith. Their mutual suspicion of the other’s failures, however, was

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 42.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 44-45.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 45.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 53.

symbolic of the lasting uneasiness that would exist between many religious leaders and Scouting for years to come.¹⁷¹ From its very birth, the RECC had to face the challenge of two parallel, if not competing, boys' movements operating within its member churches. Members of the RECC Boys' Work Board were forced to tackle the issue of its relationship with the organization early on. In May of 1919, for instance, the committee urged its leadership to organize a meeting with the Boy Scout Association to discuss possible cooperation.¹⁷² In January of 1920, the Board met with Robertson and other Boy Scout representatives to discuss possible means of cooperation.¹⁷³ Other meetings between the two organizations were organized throughout the early 1920s, but little in the way of measurable cooperation seems to have come as a result.¹⁷⁴

This was not for lack of effort on the part of the Boy Scouts, however. In addition to speaking to conference delegates in Winnipeg in 1919, Robertson continued to lobby Canadian church leaders about the potential benefits Scouting could offer their boys. In 1921, for instance, he spoke at the General Synod meeting of the Anglican Church, where he was warmly received. His address to the delegates was apparently convincing, as the Synod approved the following resolution:

It desires to commend most heartily to all who are interested in the welfare of boys, more especially to the members of our own Communion, the Boy Scouts' Movement as one which is most admirably suited for the work of training our boys physically and morally and developing in them that virile type of character which will fit them to play their part as good citizens and loyal members of the Christian Church. The Synod trusts that in all

¹⁷¹ Statten eventually eschewed overt denominational control in boys' religion in his summer camp work in the 1940s and 1950s, Wall, *The Nurture of Nature*, 242-243.

¹⁷² LAC, Canadian Council of Churches, MG28 I327, Volume 22, File 3, National Advisory Committee for Cooperation in Boys' Work, Minutes - Executive, sub-committee and annual meetings - 1919- January 1920, Minutes of the National Advisory Committee for Co-Operation in Boys' Work, 19, 21, 23 May 1919.

¹⁷³ Ibid., Minutes of executive committee meeting, February 20, 1920.

¹⁷⁴ LAC, Canadian Council of Churches, MG28 I327, Volume 22, File 4, Religious Education Council of Canada Minutes - National Boys' Work Board, Feb. 1920-1921, Minutes of executive committee meeting, February 26, 1920; Minutes, Executive Meeting, March 30, 1921.

parishes every encouragement and assistance may be given to the movement both by those in authority and by our people in general.¹⁷⁵

This endorsement was followed by a general description of the Scouting movement and its benefits in the Church's social service bulletin which argued:

The idea of the Scout, the outdoor life, the camp, the trail is irresistible to the boy. What boy is there who has never played at Red Indians, who has never crept through the trees to spy upon the foe, who has not carried a message that shall save the army through the midst of the enemy? The whole idea of the Scout movement grips the heart of the boy. Arouse his interest, his enthusiasm, his romantic imagination and you can do almost anything with him.¹⁷⁶

The Anglican Church was not alone in supporting the Scouts. By the mid 1920s, members of the Boys' Work Board of the RECC were facing increasing pressures from member churches to come up with a concrete policy on relations with the Scouts. Religious leaders in Manitoba, British Columbia and Alberta, for instance, all lamented the competition for resources and boys that was occurring in their communities as a result of the parallel operations of the Scouts and CSET. Scouting, they argued, was sapping CSET of valuable support from service organizations and business leaders which might act as group sponsors or financial supporters. Relations between the two groups in some communities, some argued, "border on unfriendliness."¹⁷⁷ Fully aware of the sensitivity of the issue – member churches such as the Church of England in Canada had officially endorsed the movement in 1922, while individual clergy in other denominations continued to adopt the movement for work at the local level – the Board punted the issue, organizing more meetings between the two organizations and passing

¹⁷⁵ The General Synod of the Church of England in Canada, *Journal of Proceeding of the Ninth Session of the General Synod*, Oct. 5-14 1921 (Toronto: Bryant Press, 1922), 170.

¹⁷⁶ GSA, Council for Social Service, Bulletins, Box # 1, "Boy Scouts and Other Organizations" June 1922, No. 58, 6.

¹⁷⁷ LAC, Canadian Council of Churches, MG28 I327, Volume 22, File 6, Religious Education Council of Canada Minutes - National Boys' Work Board, 1924, Report of the National Boys' Work Board, April 30, 1924.

motions calling for “some step whereby it might be made generally known that the utmost of good will with the minimum of overlapping and competition exist between our organizations.”¹⁷⁸

Official cooperation between the Scouts and the Boys’ Work Board, discussed at length throughout the interwar period, never came to fruition beyond the occasional statement of mutual respect. This ambivalence masked deeper divisions within religious education circles. Within the RECC, the United Church – formed in 1925 out of a union of the Methodist Church and a significant portion of the Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches – came to dominate Boys’ Work meetings, and their commitment to the CSET program heavily influenced the Board’s relationship with the Scouts. The endorsement of Scouting by the Church of England in Canada had triggered a request from the Boy Scout Association to other Protestant denominations to issue similar endorsements to clarify their relationship with Scouting and to assuage the public on the religious leanings of the movement.¹⁷⁹ This undoubtedly helped stimulate the attempts to find common ground between Scouting and the Boys’ Work Board, but no similar resolutions came from either the Presbyterian or Methodist Churches, or from the new United Church after 1925. The Board of Christian Education of the United Church finally issued an official policy on their relationship with Scouting in 1933. A special committee of church leaders expressed mixed feelings towards Scouting, on the one hand expressing its “appreciation of the Scout programme and of the movement as a useful, cultural influence among boys,” and the need for “understanding and common purpose between leaders of the various programmes for boys,” while on the other hand highlighting its long-standing support of the Tuxis and Trail Ranger

¹⁷⁸ LAC, Canadian Council of Churches, MG28 I327, Volume 22, File 9, Religious Education Council of Canada Minutes - National Boys' Work Board, 1927, Report of the Boys' Work Board for the Year April 1, 1926 to March 31, 1927.

¹⁷⁹ While the original correspondence appears to be missing, the request is mentioned in LAC, Canadian Council of Churches, MG28 I327, Volume 22, File 19, Religious Education Council of Canada Minutes - National Boys' Work Board, Executive and Annual Meetings, 1942-1943, Minutes of the 1942 annual meeting of the Religious Education Council of Canada, held in Toronto, April 11, 1942, Statement of Relationship of National Boys' Work Board to the Boy Scout Association, Boys' Brigade, Young Men's Christian Association, etc. (Staff Conference, 1942)

programs. Further, committee members expressed a preference for organizations which were “Christ-centred” and that the “Church should have a voice in the preparation and administration,” of any boys’ programme.¹⁸⁰ After laying out such conditions for any support, the committee concluded that it could only offer a lukewarm endorsement of Scouting:

Where a local Church or minister prefers the Scout programme, we wish them every success, and undertake to give every help we possibly can to make the use of the Scout Programme useful to the boys. But we believe that everything considered, we will be wise to continue official recognition of the Trail Ranger and Tuxis Programme.¹⁸¹

The United Church remained aloof towards the Scout movement throughout the 1930s, placing its trust in the CSET movement, over which it had more control. Though membership in Boy Scouts appeared virtually neck and neck in the late 1920s (see Table 1), by the late 1930s the Boy Scouts national membership had significantly exceeded that of CSET. A number of factors likely led to this growing gap. As Lucille Marr argues in her comparison of the CSET and the RECC’s program for girls – Canadian Girls in Training (CGIT) – both programs consistently faced the problem of low overall leadership numbers and a lack of trained leaders. Compared to the CGIT, CSET’s male leaders often lacked a background in education, or struggled to find relevant resources for their boys’ programs. As a result, CSET gradually began to adopt some of the same strategies as CGIT leaders – reducing the role of activities like badge work and other competitive pursuits in favour of more “relational” activities. Marr argues this “feminization” of Protestant boys’ work drove both boys and their leaders over to the Boy Scouts in the 1930s.¹⁸² Moreover, Marr and Dirks illustrate the consistent funding shortfall faced by religious educators, particularly boys’ workers, throughout the interwar period as churches consistently refused to

¹⁸⁰ United Church of Canada Archives (UCCA), Board of Christian Education, 83.051C Box 114-7, Report to a Committee to Consider the Attitude of this Board to the Boy Scout Programme, adopted by the Board, April 6, 1933.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Marr, “Church Teen Clubs,” 255-262.

fund full-time professional staff for many religious education programs for boys.¹⁸³ The Boy Scouts, in comparison, were able to sustain a professional national office (though provincial councils such as Saskatchewan struggled to operate at times) to sustain promotion and organizational efforts. Furthermore, what historians such as Dirks and Marr have not considered is that the Boy Scouts had worked to assuage Protestant wariness over their religious policies, effectively paving the way for local, or even national, church endorsement of the movement.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 250-252; Dirks, "Reinventing Christian Masculinity," 303-304; Patricia Dirks, "Serving Church and Nation: Methodist Sunday Schools in Canada's Century," *Canadian Methodist Historical Society Papers* 10 (1993), 50-51.

	Trail Rangers	Tuxis	Total C.S.E.T.	Boy Scout Membership (Scouts)
1919	6677	6546	13223	20,887
1920	10122	8701	18823	22,690
1921	n/a	n/a	n/a	27,055
1922	n/a	n/a	30424	33,720
1923	14085	11326	25411	34,454
1924	15152	13136	28398	26,516
1925	15502	12101	27222	27,358
1926	n/a	n/a	28145	28,817
1927	17352	10901	28253	28,790
1928	17590	9674	27264	29,433
1929	17630	10291	27921	28,340
1930	17095	9944	27093	27,733
1931	15130	9079	24209	29,532
1932	16993	8695	25688	31,599
1933	15220	9959	25179	33,307
1934	14603	8126	22729	33,127
1935	14206	7501	24850	41,790
1936	11317	5535	21028	44,491
1937	9549	6028	16247	42,513
1938	9476	4469	16297	46,508
1939	9674	n/a	n/a	49,609

Figure 1 - -National C.S.E.T. and Boy Scout Membership, 1919-1939.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ Source: LAC, Canadian Council of Churches, MG28 I327, Volume 22, Files 2-17, Religious Education Council of Canada Minutes - National Boys' Work Board, Executive and Annual Meetings, Annual Reports, 1920-1939; Boy Scout Association of Canada, *Annual Reports*, 1920-1939. These figures represent the best available data on national membership levels. Both organizations occasionally struggled with obtaining complete figures. In the case of the Boys' Work Board, the lack of permanent Boys' Work Secretaries occasionally led to no annual data, or incomplete numbers, while in the case of the Boy Scouts, for instance, some provincial councils, particularly Saskatchewan, faced financial difficulties in the early 1920s, which led them to reduce the staff of their provincial office. This severely affected their ability to gather registration data, and thus represented a significant drop in enrolment figures (some 10,000) from that province as of 1923; see LAC, Boy Scouts of Canada (BSC), MG28 I73, Vol. 4, Folder 4, Minutes, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, 1923-1924, Meeting of June 7, 1923). Furthermore, after 1935, both the enrolments of La Fédération des Scouts Catholiques de la Province de Québec and the Salvation Army Life Saving Scouts were included in Boy Scout national registration numbers.

Scouting in Catholic Canada

In addition to sending Dominion Commissioner James Robertson to speak to religious educators at national conferences and to speak to specific churches on the issue, the Canadian General Council worked to build connections with the Canadian Catholic Church as early as 1921. The Boy Scout Association worked to establish connections with ecclesiastical authorities in Halifax and Montreal in the early 1920s.¹⁸⁵ In 1923 the Knights of Columbus, at their annual meeting in Montreal, endorsed Scouting as an important tool in their efforts in boys' work.¹⁸⁶ In spite of this modest success with English-Canadian Catholics, Scouting's leadership in Canada struggled to reach out to Francophone Catholics, as French-Canadian nationalists and clergy were of mixed opinions about the utility of the movement.¹⁸⁷ Like some Protestant religious leaders, French-Canadian Catholic educators and clerics worried about the religious content of the movement, but they also worried about its suitability for French-Canadian boys. Despite this official opposition, historian Pierre Savard noted that, prior to 1918, it was not uncommon for French-Canadian boys to join Catholic troops in other parts of the country, but that the Ottawa Troop was the first distinctively Francophone Catholic troop in Canada. The first troop composed solely of French-Canadian Catholic boys was formed in 1918 in Notre Dame Parish in Ottawa.¹⁸⁸ Jean-Marie Rodrigue Villeneuve, then a faculty member of the Oblate-run University of Ottawa, likely had this new troop in mind when he published a brief article on Scouting that was clearly meant to stamp out any enthusiasm for the movement amongst French-Canadian

¹⁸⁵ For discussion of the BSA's efforts both in Halifax and Montreal, see Émilie Pigeon, "Providence, nationalisme et obligation sociale: l'histoire des scouts d'Ottawa, 1914-1948," (MA Thesis, University of Ottawa, 2011), 34-35.

¹⁸⁶ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 4, Folder 4, Minutes, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, 1923-1924, Meeting of April 30, 1924.

¹⁸⁷ See Pigeon, "Providence, nationalisme et obligation sociale: l'histoire des scouts d'Ottawa," 70-79.

¹⁸⁸ Savard, "Affrontement de nationalismes," 43. Savard notes that prior to 1918 it was not uncommon for French-Canadian boys to join Catholic troops in other parts of the country, but that the Ottawa Troop was the first distinctively Francophone Catholic troop in Canada, 42; Pigeon, "Providence, nationalisme et obligation sociale," 37-41.

Catholics. Villeneuve aimed squarely at those who were most interested in the education of youth and those interested in youth related issues by publishing in *Le Semeur*, the journal of the *Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne-française (A.C.J.C.)*.¹⁸⁹ Villeneuve argued that Scouting had become an object of curiosity, if not enthusiasm, in French-Canadian circles. He gave grudging credit to Scouting's emphasis on providing practical skills and opportunities to develop individual strength for boys, though this praise only further served to fuel his condemnation of the movement as too materialist and Protestant:

Nous oublions, nous semble-t-il surtout, que nous sommes des latins, et que l'idéal brutal et matériel du monde saxon ou américain n'est pas le nôtre, *sport, business, money, self-training*, n'étant pas pour nous les seules idées motrices de la vie humaine, les seuls principes générateurs d'action et d'héroïsme qu'il faille développer chez nos jeunes.¹⁹⁰

Villeneuve argued that, for Catholics, the main concern in educating youth should be that all training and teaching be done in a state of grace, one that acknowledged the supremacy of the spiritual in all its aspects. On this level, Villeneuve found it disheartening that too often the Catholic Church "pour former sa jeunesse, doive se souder à des organisations si étrangères à son esprit."¹⁹¹ Villeneuve argued that even the trappings of religion in the Scouting movement (the presence of Chaplains and the observance of denominational religious requirements within individual Troops of homogenous denominational character only), were so elastic and vaporous that they could not possibly be effective in maintaining the necessary religious spirit in boys. Furthermore, they were built on the Protestant ethic, which he argued had much more concern with external discipline and respect of social conventions than actual concern with the salvation and sanctity of young souls.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Villeneuve, "À Propos des 'Boy Scouts'," *Le Semeur*, Octobre, 1919, 42-46.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 44.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 43.

¹⁹² Ibid., 43-44.

More importantly for Villeneuve, the Scouting movement could not be adapted to the unique needs of French-Canadian Catholics. Though he admitted that a Catholic adaptation of Scouting might be suitable for French-Canadian minorities in order to protect youth from the Protestant majority, Villeneuve nevertheless argued for the need of a separate, distinctive movement. Such a movement could achieve some of the more practical ends of Scouting, but in distinctively French-Canadian forms (he suggested such movements as the *Cadets du Sacré-Coeur* or the *Petits chevaliers de Notre-Dame*) in parishes where French-Canadians could control them:

Une idée religieuse et patriotique à nous dominerait ainsi, notre autonomie et notre initiative s'affirmeraient, les principes seraient sauvs sans que les avantages ne soient sacrifiés...il s'agit de nos jeunes gens à nous, catholiques, canadiens-français; nous les avons encore dans la main; nous devons en faire de bons et solides chrétiens, d'intelligents et courageux patriotes, autant pour le moins que des gaillards et des athlètes.¹⁹³

Finally, Villeneuve argued that the *A.C.J.C.* already offered youth the religious and personal education they needed, and it was the best situated to offer an alternative to Scouting. Here, though, Villeneuve emphasized the scholarly and leadership building qualities of the *A.C.J.C.* as laudable, without arguing how it could possibly offer an alternative to the more sport and nature-oriented Scouting movement.¹⁹⁴

Even in his early opposition to the Scouting movement, Villeneuve laid down some of the basic principles that would later form the basis of French-Canadian Catholic Scouting. His rejection of the materialist and pragmatic nature of Scouting as too “Protestant” for French-Canadian Catholic sensibilities was tied to a cultural rejection of Anglo-Saxon and Protestant values – both American and British. The need for a youth movement which put religion front and

¹⁹³ Ibid., 44-45.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 44.

centre in its programming was emphasized, as well as the possibility for a dualist approach to how French-Canadians should respond. For those in minority situations, a Catholic troop within the existing structure was the most realistic alternative to joining a Protestant-run troop, while for French-Canadians in their own parishes, a separate, independent movement was the best option.

In a recent study of French-Canadian nationalist Lionel Groulx's vision of French Canada in the early nineteenth century, historian Michel Bock provides one of the only analyses of Villeneuve's life in Ottawa before being named bishop of Gravelbourg, Saskatchewan in 1930.¹⁹⁵ Described by Bock as a close friend and confidant of Groulx, Villeneuve had been active in the political and religious battles over French Catholic schooling in Ontario's Regulation XVII crisis, and had kept Groulx abreast of developments within the French-Canadian nationalist community in Ottawa throughout the war.¹⁹⁶ In 1922, Villeneuve argued that whatever the future of Canada and Quebec held, the bonds of blood, language and religion would keep Quebec united to the French-Canadian diaspora in active fraternity. Villeneuve's opinion piece was part of a special issue of *l'Action Française* on the possibility of a French state in North America. What emerged from the tone of the articles included, was a view that Quebec would naturally become the political and territorial heart of the French-Canadian nation.¹⁹⁷

Villeneuve's two-pronged approach to Scouting in 1919 – supporting the adhesion of French-Canadian Catholics to Catholic troops, regardless of linguistic composition, while favouring more independent structures in parishes where French-Canadians formed the majority – can be seen as a cautious move by a French-Canadian cleric concerned for both the religious and linguistic survival of his flock. Villeneuve's continued contact with Groulx and other

¹⁹⁵ Michel Bock, *Quand la nation débordait les frontières: les minorités françaises dans la pensée de Lionel Groulx* (Montreal : Hurtubise HMH, 2004).

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 223-230

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, 303-311, 338-339.

nationalist leaders throughout the 1920s undoubtedly influenced his approach to the Scouting movement, though he would only ascend to a position where he was able to exert real influence on the movement in the 1930s, when he became the head of the Catholic Church in Quebec.

Lionel Groulx's first direct contact with Scouting came later than Villeneuve's. Both Pierre Savard and Louise Bienvenue point to Lionel Groulx's "conversion" to Scouting during a 1926 holiday at his cottage in Saint-Donat, Quebec as a turning point in the history of Scouting in French-Canada.¹⁹⁸ They overlook, however, Groulx's reasoning for seeing Scouting in a whole new light. In his memoirs, Groulx admits being impressed by the resourcefulness and vitality of the Scouts he met in the woods that summer. This contrasted sharply with his view of French-Canadian boys, who were "coddled under the skirts of their mothers."¹⁹⁹ The official history of the *Association des Scouts du Canada* (the descendant of the Catholic Scouts of Quebec today) notes Groulx's enchantment with the Scouts in even more detail:

Partant avec leur canot, quelques bagages et une nourriture frugale, ils parcouraient ce coin du pays, passant d'un lac à l'autre. Ils portaient joyeux, en chantant, le rire clair [...] Que cette vie ressemblait à celle de nos anciens Canadiens! Une foule d'expériences pratiques composaient leurs menues occupation quotidiennes. Je vous assure que ça ne sentait pas le manuel, le par cœur. C'était la vie, la vraie vie, au contact de la nature canadienne. C'était la connaissance sur place de notre pays. Véritable école d'initiative, merveilleux apprentissage de la liberté, et vie débordante d'observations pratiques.²⁰⁰

In his envious description of the "Anglo-protestant" Boy Scouts and their summer camp, Groulx articulated a vision of the power of Nature to educate boys better than learning through books or by rote about "real life" and, most importantly, a lifestyle which evoked Groulx's own imaginings of the life of French-Canadian voyageurs and pioneers of the past.

¹⁹⁸ Savard, "Affrontement de nationalismes," 43; Bienvenue, *Quand la jeunesse entre en scène*, 33.

¹⁹⁹ Lionel Groulx, *Mes mémoires, tome 2 : 1920-1928* (Montréal : Fides, 1971), 321 (translation my own).

²⁰⁰ Quoted in Poulet, *Scouts un Jour!*, 24.

Groulx's 'conversion' to Scouting also coincided with a broader surge in Catholic Scouting around the world as Catholic Action - an intellectual movement that emphasized lay leadership - reinvigorated Catholic associational life.²⁰¹ After his experience in Saint-Donat, Groulx asked close friend Adélarde Dugré, the Rector of the Jesuit-run novitiate of the Immaculate Conception in Montreal, to write a study of Scouting and how it might best be adapted to French-Canadian Catholic needs. The resulting adaptation of Scouting, called *Éclaireurs canadiens-français*, was published in pamphlet form as part of the series put out by the *École Sociale Populaire* in 1926. By the fall of that year two troops of *Éclaireurs* were operating in the Montreal area. In June of 1928, when the *Fédération des Éclaireurs canadiens-français* received a provincial charter, there were five troops in the Montreal region. By 1933, there were fifteen troops of *Éclaireurs* in the Montreal region with a total of one thousand members.²⁰²

In describing the *Éclaireurs*, most historians of the movement have rightly pointed to the French inspiration for the movement. Baden-Powell had secured the support of Cardinal Bourne of Westminster in order to successfully integrate British Catholics into Scouting, and created the International Office for Catholic Scouts in 1920. In France, however, it was Jesuit educator Jacques Sevin who adapted Scouting to French Catholicism (in accordance with and approval of Baden-Powell's program), creating the *Fédération des Scouts de France*. Subsequently, Pope Pius XI offered his official support for Catholic Scouting in France.²⁰³ The Pope, however, had limits to how far he was willing to support nationalist leanings within Catholic movements. In 1926, for instance, he condemned the French *Action française* for drifting too far from its

²⁰¹ Gérard Cholvy, *Histoire des organisations et mouvements chrétiens de jeunesse en France : XIXe-XXe siècle*. (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1999), 189; Bienvenue, *Quand la jeunesse*, 33-35.

²⁰² Savard, "Affrontement des nationalismes," 43-45; Poulet, *Scouts un jour!*, 25-29.

²⁰³ Ibid., 42-43; Poulet, *Scouts un jour!*, 20-21; Bienvenue, *Quand la jeunesse entre en scène*, 33.

spiritual mission in favour of nationalist rhetoric. Increasingly concerned by the rise of fascism in Europe, the Catholic Church of the late 1920s and early 1930s was quick to cut ties with movements that favoured the national over the spiritual.²⁰⁴

In spite of increasing Papal opposition to overtly nationalist Catholic movements, Dugré's model for the *Éclaireurs* was nevertheless tinged with nationalism. In his 1926 pamphlet on the *Éclaireurs*, Dugré condemned the militaristic tenor of what he considered to be Scouting's imperialist aims. Citing speeches made by various English-Canadian Scout leaders about the need for military readiness in the 1920s, Dugré asked in a mocking tone "Contre qui se préparerait-on à combattre dans les provinces de Québec et d'Ontario? Il vaut mieux ne pas se forger d'ennemis, même en imagination."²⁰⁵ It was the militaristic and Protestant tone of Scouting which French-Canadians objected to, argued Dugré, and thus his *Éclaireur* movement would have to reflect their sense of patriotism:

Il n'y a qu'une sorte de patriotisme qui soulève spontanément l'enthousiasme du petit Canadien français: c'est le patriotisme naturel, celui qui a sa source dans la communauté de sang, de langue et de foi religieuse. Le patriotisme de raison, fondé sur l'intérêt, n'émeut guère nos garçons de douze à quinze ans. Le drapeau, l'hymne national qui les feront vibrer ne sont pas l'Union Jack et le God Save the King; la patrie qu'ils veulent grande et prospère n'est pas l'Empire britannique, mais le Canada, tout spécialement le Canada français.²⁰⁶

Despite this pointed criticism, Dugré affirmed the importance of programmes for French-Canadian boys in city environments, where urban forces could easily nudge boys into delinquency.²⁰⁷ Like Baden-Powell and the leaders of the English-Canadian Scouting movement,

²⁰⁴ See Bienvenue, *Quand la jeunesse entre en scène*, 43-44. In North America, the best example for French-Canadians of the period of this new suspicion of nationalism within the Vatican was the excommunication of members of the "sentinelliste" movement in Rhode Island. These Franco-American Catholics had challenged their local bishops' use of diocesan funds to create an English-only Catholic school, Bock, *Quand la nation débordait les frontières*, 321-322.

²⁰⁵ Adélard Dugré, *Éclaireurs canadien-français* (Montréal : École Social Populaire, 1926), 26.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 27.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 18-19.

Dugré saw the city as a malevolent influence on boys, rife with immoral temptations like the cinema, idleness and ‘bad company’ and yearned for a more idyllic - and religious - past.²⁰⁸

Lionel Groulx was quick to offer his support for Dugré’s call to action. Using his editorial position with *L’Action française*, he included an editorial calling for French-Canadians to embrace Dugré’s *Éclaireur* movement, arguing that it would prevent the next generation from joining assimilative and religiously neutral movements.²⁰⁹ In October of 1926, once the rules and rituals of the *Éclaireurs* had been established, *L’Action française* published a brief summary of the new format, including the revised version of the Scout Promise and Scout Law.²¹⁰ Aside from completely eliminating any reference to loyalty to the British Crown, the new Law and Promise focused largely on the duty of the *éclaireur* to God and nation. The first two *Éclaireur* laws, for instance, reveal the inseparable link between nation and religion:

1. L’Éclaireur pratique fièrement sa religion et lui reste fidèle dans tous les actes de sa vie. Il est pur dans ses pensées, ses paroles et ses actions.
2. L’Éclaireur canadien-français aime son pays, tout spécialement le Canada français. Il est fier de ses origines, fidèle au passé, confiant dans l’avenir de sa nation. Il aime sa langue et s’efforce de la bien connaître et de la parler correctement.²¹¹

Moreover, instead of the simple “A Scout is a friend to animals” law regarding a Scout’s relationship to Nature, the *Éclaireur* law was much more explicit in linking piety and Nature, “L’Éclaireur aime la nature et voit Dieu partout dans l’univers.”²¹² Unlike Baden-Powell’s vague spiritualism, which was meant to appeal to a cross-section of Christians, the Catholic creators of the *Éclaireurs* movement sought to eliminate any neutral or vague concepts in their Laws and

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 19.

²⁰⁹ “Le Scoutisme,” *L’Action Française*, juillet 1926, 4.

²¹⁰ “À propos d’Éclaireurs,” *L’Action française*, octobre 1926, 220-225. See Appendix A for the full text of the Promise and Law.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² See Appendix A and Appendix B.

Promise. Troop or Patrol names were adapted by replacing animal names with French-Canadian heroes such as Bourget and Brébeuf or historic battles like Châteauguay and Carillon.²¹³

As noted previously, by the time Rodrigue Villeneuve returned to Quebec, first as archbishop of Quebec in 1931, where he was appointed Cardinal in 1933, the *Fédération des Éclaireurs canadiens-français* had grown to include fifteen troops of *Éclaireurs* in the Montreal region with a total of one thousand members.²¹⁴ By the beginning of 1935, the *Fédération* boasted 400 members outside of the Montreal region, with troops as far away as Saint-Boniface, Manitoba, and Chatham, New-Brunswick.²¹⁵ They were not the only French-Canadian Catholic Scouting troops in the country, however. In addition to the Notre-Dame troop in Ottawa, troops either attached to the English-Canadian movement, or independent of both the *Fédération* and the Boy Scouts Association of Canada, were also operating in Trois-Rivières, Quebec City and Saint-Jean, Quebec.²¹⁶ The English-Canadian Boy Scout leadership in Quebec tried unsuccessfully to bring the various Scouting factions in Quebec under the associational umbrella in 1929; the *Fédération des Éclaireurs* refused to change any part of their version of the Scout Law and Promise.²¹⁷

Cardinal Villeneuve broke this deadlock between the Boys Scouts Association of Canada and the *Éclaireurs*. Pierre Savard has skillfully reconstructed the negotiation between Villeneuve and the English-Canadian Scouts, particularly the discussions between Villeneuve, the Canadian Boy Scouts and the *Fédération des Éclaireurs* that led to the creation of the *Fédération de scouts catholiques de la Province de Québec* in 1935. Faced with an English Canadian Scouting leadership that feared that ceding any special privileges to Francophones, or Catholics, would

²¹³ Savard, "Affrontement de nationalismes," 46.

²¹⁴ Poulet, *Scouts un jour!*, 29.

²¹⁵ Savard, "Affrontement de nationalismes," 46-47.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 47-51.

²¹⁷ Ibid., 48-49.

lead to a schism in the Canadian identity and values of the Scouting movement, or to the demand for a national Catholic Scouting stream, Villeneuve had to mediate between their insistence on change in the *Éclaireurs*' Laws and the *Éclaireurs*' refusal to change. Villeneuve effectively over-ruled the opposition of the nationalist leaders of the Montreal-based *Éclaireurs* who insisted that the emphasis on religion and nationalism remain central in the rules of any Catholic Scouting organization. The new federation moved closer to the original Scout Promise – allowing loyalty to “King and Canada” – and removed the lengthy homage to French Canada in the second Scout law.²¹⁸ Representatives from the *Éclaireurs*' movement complained that, “nous croyons qu’il s’agit ici de la première démarche officielle auprès de nos œuvres canadiennes-françaises pour réagir contre un nationalisme que l’on croit exagéré et que l’on assimile trop facilement, nous semble-t-il aux nationalismes outranciers d’Europe.”²¹⁹

Savard, and others who have used his study of the Scouts in their own work, unfortunately leave this complaint unexplored in seeking to understand the motivations for Villeneuve's efforts to bring French-Canadian Scouting more in line with the English-Canadian model. Though Villeneuve first advocated for a pan-Canadian French-Canadian Catholic Scouting movement in his initial approach to the English-Canadian Scouts, the question was quickly reduced to incorporating a Catholic Scouting movement within the territory of Quebec.²²⁰ Why this shift? While Savard does not speculate, it is feasible that the international context (the Papal condemnation of Catholic nationalist movements in France, the United States and, in the mid-1930s, of movements in Spain and Italy) would have certainly given pause to any

²¹⁸ Ibid., 52-53.

²¹⁹ Ibid., 52.

²²⁰ For Villeneuve's initial proposal for a French-Canadian Catholic Scouting Association, LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 36, French Catholic Scouting- 1933, “Archbishop Rodrigue Villeneuve à Mr. Stiles, Commissaire Général de la Boy Scouts Association,” May 19, 1933. The correspondence in the Scouts fonds does not reveal why or when exactly this shift took place.

cautious Church leader dealing with nationalist movements.²²¹ Villeneuve's own condemnation of Scouting in 1919 had been based on fostering distinctively French-Canadian troops only where numbers warranted, and he had counseled French-Canadians in minority positions to stick with Catholic troops to maintain their faith.²²² Even then, his nationalist leanings were strongly tempered by his religious convictions.

Furthermore, Villeneuve had previously been very cautious when dealing with nationalist movements and arguments during his involvement in the Ontario schools issue. As mentioned previously, Villeneuve had worked with Groulx on a special issue of *l'Action française* on the possible impact of a French state in North America on the francophone diaspora. Villeneuve had agonized over appearing too "revolutionary and anti-British" and at one point even asked Groulx to pull his article from the issue.²²³ Yet, even in that more militant period of Villeneuve's career, one can see that he viewed issues of race and religion as being able to transcend territorial limitations; even when separated by jurisdictional borders, he argued, "les liens du sang ne seraient point tranchés entre nous, mais continueront de nous imposer les obligations d'une effective fraternité."²²⁴ Perhaps, then, Lionel Groulx had misconstrued his old friend's nationalist fervor when he complained, after the incorporation of the *Scouts catholiques* and the death of the *éclaireurs*, about the "complicity" of religious leaders who, under the guise of "Canadianism," seemed determined "de paraître le moins que possible Canadiens-français et catholiques."²²⁵

In any case, Villeneuve remained determined to put a Catholic stamp on the *Scouts Catholiques'* more moderate adaptation of Scouting. Speaking at a gathering of the movement's

²²¹ Bienvenue, *Quand la jeunesse entre en scène*, 43-44.

²²² "À Propos des 'Boy Scouts'," *Le Semeur*, Octobre, 1919, 42-46.

²²³ Bock, *Quand la nation débordait les frontières*, 306-308.

²²⁴ Ibid., 308-309.

²²⁵ Groulx, *Mes Mémoires*, 325. Groulx's bitterness over the Scouting controversy, and Villeneuve's intimate involvement with it leads us to conclude that, contrary to Michel Bock's argument that Groulx and Villeneuve remained close friends until opinions on the war divided them in the 1940s, one can already see some clear divisions between the former allies against Regulation XVII, Bock, *Quand la nation débordait les frontières*, 223.

leaders at the *Université de Montréal* in 1938, Villeneuve devoted substantial attention to his views of religion, nature and education in the new movement.²²⁶ Villeneuve struck a self-deprecating tone about his earlier views in his opening remarks:

I am said to have denounced Scouting, years ago, and I must now wonder whether, the rest of my life, I shall be inflicted with the ordeal of showing regret thereabout by complying with frequent and pressing invitations to cover the Scout organization with [my] Cardinal's purple robe and extol it in unrestricted commendation and praise.²²⁷

After summarizing the reasons behind his initial opposition to Scouting, Villeneuve moved into explaining why the Catholic Scouts now represented a suitable adaptation for French-Canadian Catholic boys. Villeneuve's critique of the modern educational system blasted rote learning and fixed curricula which he claimed had roots in Puritanism and Jansenism. The Scouting method liberated the child, whereas the Puritan and Jansenist old form of schooling had worked to "destroy the freedom of the children of God."²²⁸ Scouting, he countered, took the boy as he was and educated him through experience. Instead of learning natural laws and biology through books, he learns it by immersion in the forest and thus realizes that it is beyond book learning, "Before him, nature constantly widens and expands, and he clearly perceives that he can never grasp its field in a formula taken from a dictionary."²²⁹

Villeneuve also attempted to bridge the old criticisms of Scouting as obsessively militaristic or too naturalist in its symbols and ritual. He argued that French-Canadians, because of their religious temperament and "French taste for rhetorical considerations," often neglected physical development and hygiene, or "have thrown themselves headfirst into brutal sports and

²²⁶ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 36, French Catholic Scouting - 1940, 1943-1946, "Address delivered by His Eminence Cardinal Villeneuve, Archbishop of Quebec, Primate of Canada, at the 'Cercle Universitaire' of Montreal, November 11, 1938, on the occasion of the annual dinner of the Federation of Catholic Scouts of the Province of Quebec." Though he spoke in French, the archives contain the official English translation of the speech.

²²⁷ Ibid., 1.

²²⁸ Ibid., 2.

²²⁹ Ibid., 3.

idiotic marathons.” The Church, he argued, did not despise the body and the physical, though it did exalt the soul over the body. Scouting’s chivalric code, however, avoided the “idiotic” physical sports which he condemned, but rather was intended “to produce men at the same time comely and valiant.”²³⁰ Finally, Villeneuve argued that there was “nothing pagan” in Scouting’s use of naturalist imagery and symbols in its rituals:

Would St. Francis of Assisi have conceived such anxiety, he, who used to converse with his brother, the Wolf? And, in the middle ages, was there any scruple about adorning the portals and columns of old cathedrals with the effigies of saints all mingled with flowers and animals? Let us therefore find again that simplicity of old. Let us come back to the most wholesome Christian humanism.²³¹

Conclusion

Through the comparative study of the approach to religion in Scouting in French and English Canada we can see both points of divergence and convergence. The English-Canadian Scouting movement’s leaders embraced antimodernist forms of medievalism and the religion of experience and primitivism in the Scout programme. Nature, which Canadians had long held as a defining factor in their distinctiveness, was the cathedral for Baden-Powell’s ‘Religion of the Backwoods.’ For French-Canadian Catholic and nationalist leaders, meanwhile, their initial suspicions of the Protestant or, even worse, neutral religious leanings of Scouting caused men like Rodrigue Villeneuve and Lionel Groulx to initially condemn the movement. Only later, when faced with local enthusiasm for the movement, did religious leaders embrace it and seek to make it their own. They, too, promoted it and embraced it in antimodernist muscular Christian language. Villeneuve used the ecclesiastical levers available to him in Quebec to create an autonomous church-controlled Scout Federation in the province, to the chagrin of those who had advocated a more organic, pan-Canadian national Francophone movement.

²³⁰ Ibid., 3-4.

²³¹ Ibid., 6.

How boys experienced and responded to these attempts to shape their religiosity is difficult to assess; a dearth of suitable sources, combined with the highly personal nature of religious experience makes such assessments difficult if not impossible. The Scout movement was part of a broader response within Canadian religious circles to the changes wrought by modernity – urbanization, technological change, changing work patterns and new ideas of childhood and adolescence – which fundamentally changed how many church leaders and social reformers conceived of religious education, particularly for boys. The concern about the moral and religious upbringing of boys tapped into broader concerns over a perceived threat to middle class masculinity. Scout and religious leaders shared the conception of early adolescence as a particularly propitious time for religious conversion of boys. They also worried about religious life becoming overly ‘feminine’ and that modern urban life threatened the moral growth of many of the nation’s boys. They united behind attempts to get boys into a more active and muscular setting – namely into the outdoors - and to learn about the muscular and rugged heroes of their Christian past in order to encourage them to see religion as something that all modern men needed to achieve full manhood. Baden-Powell’s philosophy of the ‘religion of the backwoods,’ though not articulated as such by all religious educators, united them in their work with boys.

Chapter Two: Compelled to Cooperate: Scouting and the Protestant Churches, 1939-1969

On the 15th of May, 1945, scarcely a week after the declaration of victory in Europe, Frank Foulds, a Director in the Canadian Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State, spoke to the Executive Board of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scout Association.²³² Foulds, who had served as an executive officer with the Scout movement throughout the war and continued to volunteer with the movement, spoke to his colleagues about how Scouting could serve Canada in the postwar rebuilding process, more particularly in citizenship training. He noted that his department valued the contributions made by the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements in youth education because both were “non-sectarian, non-political and non-propagandist.”²³³ His praise for the two organizations extended to their ability to help in “the assimilation of New Canadians, as well as in the training of other boys and girls.” Most significantly, he emphasized that Scouting would have to redouble its recruitment efforts in the postwar years: “The task before the Association was both enormous and urgent. The church and the home, to a very considerable extent, had lost control of the youth. It was obvious something positive had to be done. Scout and Cub membership formed far too small a percentage of the total population.”²³⁴

²³² The Canadian Citizenship Branch was the institutional descendant of the war-time Nationalities Branch and Citizenship Branch of the Department of National War Services. See Ivana Caccia, *Managing the Canadian Mosaic in Wartime: Shaping Citizenship Policy, 1939-1945* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 205-210; Franca Iacovetta, “The Gatekeepers: Middle-Class Campaigns of Citizenship in Early Cold War Canada,” in *The Making of the Middle Class: Toward a Transnational History*, eds. A. Ricardo Lopez and Barbara Weinstein, (Durham: N.C.: Duke University Press, 2012): 87-106.

²³³ LAC, BSC, Microfilm reel C-13939, Dominion Executive Board Meeting Minutes, 1945, Meeting held in Ottawa, May 15, 1945.

²³⁴ Ibid.

This chapter considers Scouting's relationship with the United and Anglican churches through the war and into the 1960s.²³⁵ By considering the changing relationship between Scouting and both churches, it argues that the process of secularization - often argued to be at its peak in this period, continued to be an uneven process in which the divisions between the sacred and secular were in a constant state of negotiation. The United Church and the Anglican Church make excellent case studies because they were among the largest sponsors of Scouting, though both took quite different official stances towards the movement. Examining the popularity of Scouting within churches, and the ongoing partnership between churches and the movement in this period, brings a new perspective to existing historiography on public religion and secularization in Canada in the 1960s. Many scholars have argued that it was during the postwar years, particularly the 1960s, that the "historic privileging of Christianity in Canadian national public life began very visibly to crumble."²³⁶ In his study of Canadian churches' participation in the centennial celebrations of 1967 and Expo 67 in Montreal, Gary Miedema argues that the churches "found themselves suddenly looking for new ways to be Christian in Canadian public life - ways that would allow them to maintain their historic identification with Canadian culture in the midst of the turmoil of the decade."²³⁷ This led, he argues, to a relatively smooth transition to a more official recognition of the religious plurality of Canada and an agreement that the public sphere needed to be religiously "neutral" if not secular.²³⁸ This recognition of religious pluralism was also a relatively drawn out process of renegotiation in public schools, as described

²³⁵ The Church of England in the Dominion of Canada changed its name to the Anglican Church of Canada in 1955 - I have used variants of these two titles where appropriate, though "Anglican" is often used as short form.

²³⁶ Miedema, *For Canada's Sake*, 4. See also John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era*, 215-218, Stackhouse, "Protestant Experience in Canada," 207-219; Gidney, *The Long Eclipse*; Bruce Douville, "The Uncomfortable Pew: Christianity, the New Left, and the Hip Counterculture in Toronto, 1965-1975," PhD dissertation (York University, Toronto, 2011), 54-56.

²³⁷ Miedema, *For Canada's Sake*, 201.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, xv, 201.

by R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar.²³⁹ The recasting of the relationship between Scouting and the churches occurred within this broader context of renegotiation. Indeed, it is an excellent example of ongoing partnerships between church leaders and like-minded lay people who sought to find new ways to keep religion in the public in areas like education and public national discourse at a time when it was in decline in other areas of national life.²⁴⁰

The cultural and social tumult of the 1960s seemed a remote possibility in the early postwar years. As historians Doug Oram and John Webster Grant have already noted, many Canadian churches experienced significant growth in the 1950s, though this was largely tied to demographic trends linked to the baby boom and postwar immigration.²⁴¹ Many churches actually saw their membership as a percentage of the overall population decline.²⁴² Children's movements, both secular and religious, experienced similar growth that hid significant change below the surface. Scouting and church leaders worried that their ability to shape the religious and moral lives of boys was diminishing - this at a time when wartime worries about delinquency carried over into postwar concern about perceived threats to moral and social order and whether existing structures could respond to the challenges of an increasingly large and autonomous youth culture dominated by the baby boom generation.²⁴³ In the case of Protestant boys' movements this fear was well-founded - both membership and institutional support for the various church-controlled boys' movements during the period continued to lag far behind that of the churches' girls' movements. While the more evangelical United Church chose to try and reform boys' movements to address the perceived crisis, others in the ecumenical religious

²³⁹ R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, "The Christian Recessional in Ontario's Public Schools," in Van Die, *Religion and Public Life*, 275-93.

²⁴⁰ Gidney, *The Long Eclipse*, Miedema, *For Canada's Sake*.

²⁴¹ John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era*, 160-183; Oram, *Born at the Right Time*, 103-110, 337.

²⁴² Stackhouse, "Protestant Experience in Canada," 209, 238-239, Bibby, *Fragmented Gods*, 11-23.

²⁴³ Greig, *Ontario Boys*, 11-14. Reginald Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*; Oram, *Born at the Right Time*.

education field (more specifically the Religious Education Council of Canada and its parent body, the Canadian Council of Churches) moved to cooperate more closely with secular organizations that might be sympathetic to their aims. This was particularly true of the Anglican Church. Its traditional adherence to a more nationalist/imperialist ethos reinforced its support and use of Scouting as a religious and civic education activity for boys in the postwar era.

Both Protestant religious leaders and Scouting executives worked to reinvigorate Christianity and boyhood in the postwar period. They shared the common concern that children, particularly boys, had suffered from a lack of male guidance during the war years and that the challenges of postwar life required a renewed effort to guide boys into a Christian manhood. The Boy Scout Association focused on reinforcing the relationship with one of its religious partners and strengthening what some in the movement saw as its founding principle - Duty to God. The attempt to broaden its religious appeal and programming was best symbolized by the development of a "Religion and Life" badge. The badge sought to reward boys for their regular attendance at religious services as well as other forms of participation in their faith community. First adopted by the Anglican Church, it won the support of all religious denominations by the mid-1950s, though discussions about the merits of the badge are revealing of continuing denominational differences over religious pedagogies.

Beyond developing a special badge for religion, Scouting also worked throughout the postwar period to improve official relations and communications with Protestant churches, creating a special Church relationships committee and holding annual conferences where Scout leaders and church officials could share ideas on religious programming. These efforts, combined with the United and Anglican churches' own moves to cooperate with non-denominational or secular bodies, helped to keep church-scout sponsored troops as the largest

group in Scouting throughout the 1960s. Thus, even though Canada was, in many ways, entering a more secular age by the 1960s, concern for the religious lives of boys persisted. This concern stimulated cooperation between the churches and more non-denominational or secular organizations such as the Boy Scouts.

Boys Without Men: Absent Fathers and Boyhoods During the War Years

The outbreak of war in September of 1939 and the subsequent years of “total war” - on the battlefield and at home - strained the Canadian social fabric. Canada’s social and political leadership worried that a number of war time realities and behaviours - hoarding, the growth of a black market for certain goods due to rationing provisions, perceived sexual laxity both within the troops and at home - posed a threat to the successful renewal of Canadian society in the postwar years.²⁴⁴ The absence of fathers was a particular concern to many Canadians: officials and citizens alike fretted over both the impact on household labour and about juvenile delinquency stemming from the absence of father figures and role models.²⁴⁵ Juvenile delinquency had been a concern since the turn of the century, but it had become a term particularly associated with “bad boy” behaviour by the interwar period and into the war years. Journalists, educators and bureaucrats all wrote extensively about delinquency, a term that could refer to anything from criminal behaviour to “social and moral transgression.”²⁴⁶ Scouting positioned itself as best able to fill this void left by men sent overseas and thus as a bulwark against delinquency. As early as November of 1939, the Canadian General Council of the Scout Association worried that the rush of enlisting men would “automatically throw a heavier load on

²⁴⁴ Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Saints, Sinners and Soldiers: Canada’s Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).

²⁴⁵ For more on concerns about absent fathers and juvenile delinquency, see Tamara Myers, “Cadets, Curfews, and Compulsory Schooling: Mobilizing Anglophone Children in WW II Montreal,” *Social History / Histoire Sociale* 38, no. 76 (November 2005): 367-398; Jeff Keshen, *Saint, Sinners and Soldiers*, 205-227; Magda Fahrni, *Household Politics: Montreal Families and Postwar Reconstruction* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2005), 44-62.

²⁴⁶ Greig, *Ontario Boys*, 75-77; Joan Sangster, “Constructing Social and Moral Citizens: Male and Female Delinquency in English Canada, 1920-1965,” in *Contesting Citizenship in Canada*, eds. Robert Adamoski, Dorothy E. Chunn, Robert Menzies. (Broadview Press, 2002): 337-358.

the women in the household. Such tasks as snow shovelling, removal of ashes, cutting the grass, etc., would fall to the lot of those who by nature were not fitted for such duties.”²⁴⁷ A discussion group of Toronto Scout leaders suggested that Scouts with friends or acquaintances whose fathers were overseas should ask their own fathers to take an interest in these boys.

It is taken for granted that Scoutmasters and Cubmasters will be giving some special thought to lads of their Packs and Troops whose fathers who have been lost to them through enlistment. Also that efforts would be made to bring as many as possible of these fatherless lads into Cubbing or Scouting.²⁴⁸

Scouting’s leaders worried that a father’s absence would mean more than just a heavier domestic workload for the mother. The absence of male role models, many feared, was opening the door to a rise in male juvenile delinquency, particularly for working-class boys or families with a working mother:

The ill effects upon certain boys of the loss of the guidance and restraint of fathers who have enlisted and are now overseas, is becoming unhappily noticeable in the public schools, according to certain school principals. This is a not unnatural situation, and one in which Scouting should be able to play some helpful role.²⁴⁹

Scouting prided itself in its role of being what its leaders saw as “a definite aid in controlling juvenile delinquency,” through keeping older fatherless boys involved in healthy and useful activities like volunteering for various salvage drives or serving in special emergency response groups.²⁵⁰ Scouting’s leadership also worried about the effects that an absent father and working mother might have on younger, Cub-aged boys. The Executive Board of the movement expressed concern during a meeting in 1942 about the double burden this placed on young boys:

[...] reference was made to the alarming situation created by an abnormal increase in juvenile delinquency, particularly in the age group 8 to 12, the period during which boys

²⁴⁷ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 7, Folder 4, Executive Board of Canadian General Council meetings, 1939, Meeting of 29 November, 1939.

²⁴⁸ “Absent Soldiers’ Sons,” *The Scout Leader*, December 1941, 46. A similar suggestion was made in 1942, “Good Turn for Wartime Christmas,” *The Scout Leader*, December 1942, 45.

²⁴⁹ “Absent Soldiers’ Sons,” *The Scout Leader*, December 1941, 46.

²⁵⁰ “Highlights of Central Ontario Conference,” *The Scout Leader*, December 1942, 47.

become Wolf Cubs. This condition, common to wartimes, was recognised as being caused by the heavy enlistment of married men with families, leaving the control of the children in the hands of the mothers, many of whom were making the additional sacrifice of entering factories to help in war work.²⁵¹

Scout officials took this challenge as an opportunity to expand the movement's influence, resolving to "proceed at once to play its full and important part by making a deliberate and vigorous attempt to increase the Cub membership," for instance.²⁵² The national Expansion and Organization Committee considered ways to improve the movement's popularity and how to reach previously unreachable boys, be it because of class, geographic distance, or language barrier.²⁵³ Part of this work required establishing where the movement was strongest and how many eligible boys in Canada had some contact with the movement.²⁵⁴

Scouting's leadership assumed that boys would form the backbone of the postwar democratic world. W.L. Currier, Assistant Dominion Commissioner for Training, made this point forcefully in describing the importance of the task that lay before the movement:

The young boys who are growing up today are soon to be entrusted with running the affairs of this complicated world. The future progress, and the future safety of the world depends upon the precepts and abilities they absorb now, at this most impressionable stage of their lives. We who are Scout Leaders are playing a more important part than many realise in developing in the youth of this country the very attributes which will determine their ability to cope with the tremendous problems of the future.²⁵⁵

Media across the country seemed to agree with this statement, praising the activities of the movement throughout the war and its work in training boys to be leaders for the future. The

²⁵¹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 7, Folder 6, Executive Board of Canadian General Council meetings, 1941-1942, Meeting of September 9, 1942.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ During the war both the national executive and local Scout councils held workshops on a range of issues. One suggestion included improving relations with organized labour, LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 7, Folder 7, Executive Board of Canadian General Council meetings, 1943-1944, Meeting of 27 January, 1943. Others discussed how to reach the "underprivileged boy", "Ottawa Scouters to Study Problem of Under-Privileged Boys," *The Scout Leader*, November, 1943, 31.

²⁵⁴ "Room for Expansion of Canadian Scouting," *The Scout Leader*, June, 1943, 143. British Columbia was the only province to have reached more than 10% (11%) of the national male population of Scout age.

²⁵⁵ W.L. Currier, "A Message on Training," *The Scout Leader*, June, 1944, 135.

Globe and Mail, for instance, called Scouting “ [a] reservoir from which Canada may draw young men of high quality.”²⁵⁶ Windsor, Nova Scotia’s *Hants Journal* praised Scouting by contrasting it to the Hitler Youth, noting “Baden-Powell originated Scouting to serve youth. Hitler’s Youth Movement makes youth serve aggression. It is a contrast of ideals [...] Because of it [Scouting] we will never have to celebrate any anniversary of Hitlerism.”²⁵⁷ Confident that the movement had full public support and that the time was ripe for a substantial expansion in the postwar era, Scouting’s leadership boldly predicted that the movement would hit 100,000 members by October of 1945.²⁵⁸ “Scouting has something to offer to boys,” the Scout Association argued, “something to offer the community and the nation. We want the numbers only insofar as they contribute to better citizenship, better communities and a better Canada.”²⁵⁹

Like Scouting’s leadership, many church leaders worried that the departure of men for service overseas weakened the already low participation of men in their congregations as well as creating a significant lack of role models for boys within the church. This worry about men in the church was not, however, strictly a wartime phenomenon. Broader concerns about where men chose to concentrate their energies in their communities had been a longstanding concern in many Canadian churches. A United Church special committee struck to investigate “urban problems” during the war, for instance, argued that the seeming lack of men within church organizations was because many men often chose to “give the service which she inspires under other auspices and other banners.”²⁶⁰ This worry that men’s energies were being directed away from church activities was also reflected in the nearly yearly complaint that they lacked boys’

²⁵⁶ Quoted in Boy Scouts Association, Canadian General Council, Annual Report, 1943, 25.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.

²⁵⁸ “A Challenge for 1945 -100,000 Cubs and Scouts in Canada by October 31st,” *The Scout Leader*, March, 1945, 19-20. 1944 ‘s Scout census had pegged membership at 94,000.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ United Church of Canada Archives (UCCA), General Council, Record of Proceedings, 1940, Commission on Urban Problems (report), 182.

work staff and that this gap was reflected in the widening gap between the number of girls and boys registered in midweek church activities.²⁶¹

Protestant boys' movements like the Tuxis and Trail Rangers had struggled with low membership numbers throughout the 1930s. United Church religious leaders, the most enthusiastic supporters of the two programs, worried that the war would weaken the boys' movements even further. In its report to the 1944 General Council of the United Church, the Board of Religious Education sounded the alarm for the church's future, "The war has had disastrous results in its effect upon childhood and youth. The problems involved will doubtless be accentuated in the postwar world. The Church cannot ultimately succeed anywhere if it does not succeed in winning its own children and youth to the Christian faith."²⁶² At the subsequent General Council, in 1946, the Board repeated its prewar plea for funding for a full-time Boys' Work Secretary (tasked with administering and promoting boys' programs), arguing that boys' work needed special attention, "It will be futile to succeed elsewhere unless the Church succeeds in enlisting and training its boys effectively in the Christian way of life."²⁶³ Boys' workers worried about losing ground in a field where "it should be noted that there is a serious drift in many places toward community organizations which have sprung up during the war and since for social, recreational, and cultural activities, but with *very little, if any, provision for religion*."²⁶⁴

The end of the war and late 1940s were years marked by an increased focus on boys' social spaces by social reformers and educators. Organizations like the Boy and Girls Clubs, Big

²⁶¹ UCCA, General Council, Record of Proceedings, 1940, 267. Girls' membership consistently out-ranked boys' membership throughout the war. In 1945, for instance, there were 31,732 girls registered in United Church midweek programming throughout the country as compared to 20,493 boys, UCCA, General Council, Record of Proceedings, 1946, "Conference Statistics - Religious Education, 1945," 346.

²⁶² UCCA, General Council, Record of Proceedings, 1944, 126.

²⁶³ UCCA, General Council, Record of Proceedings, 1946, "Report on Policy with Recommendations from several Boards and Standing Committees of the Church as adopted by General Council," 212.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 212, 341 (emphasis in the original). Their plea for funding for a full time Boys' Work Secretary remained unheeded.

Brothers and others flourished in these years as many social commentators and child psychologists felt that providing working class boys with regulated spaces to channel their “boy instincts” would divert them from delinquent behaviour.²⁶⁵ The proliferation of these non-denominational spaces was a growing concern for the members of the Religious Education Council of Canada (RECC) as they tried to sustain their own programs. Wilbur Howard, Boys Work Secretary for the RECC, captured this unease over the increasing competition offered by secular organizations and the increasingly inscrutable “teen” social world. In his 1945 address to the Council, Howard noted that the demands of war and hopes for an improved world in peace time were the main concerns of many western leaders. He reminded his colleagues of “the tremendous responsibility of the church to plan wisely for its youth and to orient its youth programmes to the big problems of our times.”²⁶⁶ He went on to describe where he felt the churches were off-track in their efforts with boys:

We face a danger of being crowded out of the boys’ work field by the many secular agencies. As separate, individual denominations we cannot seriously hope to do an adequate job in boys’ work. No single denomination has enough time, or energy, or money, or professional leadership, or creative resources to sustain its own boys’ work programme. The denominations cooperating may achieve much. It all boils down to this. Either we get in the boys’ work field and work together or else we shall be forced to get out of the boys’ work field. We must get in or get out. We must cooperate or get the gate. We must take the big view and work together for all the boys in our churches.²⁶⁷

Howard went on to describe the changing nature of youth culture, particularly adolescents. “A new awareness of the adolescent,” he argued, “has been [an] important but awkward inheritance of the War Years. Communities have gone all out to meet their needs with

²⁶⁵ Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*; Greig, *Ontario Boys*, Sangster, “Constructing Social and Moral Citizens,”; Comacchio, *Dominion of Youth*.

²⁶⁶ LAC, Canadian Council of Churches (CCC), MG28 I327, Volume 23, File 2, Religious Education Council of Canada Minutes - National Boys’ Work Board, Executive, 1945, Report of the Boys’ Work Secretary to the Annual Meeting of the National Boys’ Work Board, April, 1945.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

bigger and better recreational programs.”²⁶⁸ The “teen hang-out,” he noted, had been cited by many child experts as an emerging space that was difficult for adults to penetrate as teens increasingly socialized and interacted in closed peer groups.²⁶⁹ The church, he argued, needed to adapt to these new conditions, as “we are not very tolerant about putting up with some things we do not like in these teen-agers in order that they might be comfortable with us and give us a chance to influence their interests and attitudes.”²⁷⁰

This concern that Tuxis and Trail Rangers were losing ground through lack of resources and competition with other organizations and teen spaces led religious educators in the RECC to split the mandate of its Boys’ Work Board into two committees – one charged exclusively with promoting and improving the Tuxis and Trail Ranger movements and the other to manage relationships with other boys’ organizations. The Board made it clear, however, that their own movement should continue to receive the lion’s share of promotion and resources, as they believed it “to be the best possible in church boys’ work.”²⁷¹ This, they hoped, would improve their ability to focus and promote their own boys’ movements while not ignoring the growing number of boys in their respective churches who were participating in non church-based boys’ activities. The concern that religious education was losing ground more generally due to a lack of resources inspired leaders of the RECC to join the new Canadian Council of Churches (CCC) in

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Cynthia Commacchio has described the rise of these “teen” spaces and clubs in *The Dominion of Youth*, 189-209.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ LAC, CCC, MG28 I327, Volume 22, File 19, Religious Education Council of Canada Minutes - National Boys’ Work Board, Executive and Annual Meetings, 1942-1943, Statement of Relationship of National Boys’ Work Board to the Boy Scout Association, Boys’ Brigade, Young Men’s Christian Association, etc. (Staff Conference, 1942).

1944. The Council was itself the product of war time idealism and concern that postwar reconstruction be informed by a broader religious ecumenism.²⁷²

Church boys' workers' individual approaches to the perceived crisis of authority varied, much as it had prior to the war. The Church of England continued to put its faith in the Scout movement, even in the trying times triggered by the war. In 1943, for instance, Rev. Dr. R.A. Hiltz, General Secretary of the General Board of Religious Education for Church of England in Canada, pointed to children as "Canada's greatest asset," and something that needed to be harnessed for the future of the nation and the church. Children, he argued, represented a potential resource "far, far greater than any mineral wealth or forest reserves, however vast. But they may prove a terrible liability, a menace, unless we make absolutely sure the church sees to it that they are taught fundamental principles of pure living."²⁷³ In an editorial in a later issue of the *Churchman*, the Anglican periodical, church leaders argued that it would be up to youth to maintain the spirit of peace in the postwar world and tipped their hat to Scouting's potential role in that regard:

Perhaps never before in Canada's eventful history was the task of building good citizenship more pregnant with meaning [...] It will be their task to maintain a peace which is in reality a peace, and not just the uneasy quiet before the dawn of another world conflagration. Faced with these tasks it is a paramount concern of Canada that its youth be imbued with the ideals for peace and progress. Scouting here in Canada, in every part of the Empire and in more than 40 other countries is doing more perhaps than any group outside the Christian Church, to extend the ideal of international goodwill and fellowship.²⁷⁴

Anglican religious educators continued to support Scouting during the war years as their preferred vehicle for boys' work. The movement's "philosophy of life, their Scout daily good

²⁷² Under the new Council, the RECC became the Department of Christian Education (DCE) in 1947, Daniel C. Goodwin, "The Canadian Council of Churches: Its Founding Visions and Early Years, 1944-1964," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 41, no. 2 (2004), 163-166.

²⁷³ R.A. Hiltz, "Canada's Greatest Asset - Children!" *Canadian Churchman*, September 2, 1943, 471.

²⁷⁴ "A Chat with the Editor," *The Canadian Churchman*, February 24, 1944, 114.

turn, their loyalty to God and country,” argued the *Churchman*’s editors, “has played a proud part in the development of this country as a sovereign nation in the great Commonwealth of British nations.”²⁷⁵

The Anglican Church’s enthusiasm was unsurprising; it had endorsed Scouting as early as 1922. In spite of this official approval, there continued to be grumblings in some quarters about the suitability of the movement for the church’s work with boys. Blake Wood, Chairman of the Church’s Joint Committee on Work Amongst Teen-Age Boys described the historic tensions between the success of the Scout movement within the church and some members of the clergy’s concern that it was not sufficiently church-centred:

The Boy Scout Movement has long offered the best progressive programme of work and play for boys in their teens. This is not a private but a majority opinion. However, many clergy have felt that Scouting’s religious aspect, while officially foremost, has been practically submerged by its other preoccupations, and that, therefore, it makes no definite contribution to the development of responsible Church membership. They have been rightly disturbed by this consideration, in view of the fact that the parish Scout Troop engrosses much parish-house time and space as well as any leisure of its members for activities not connected with school. Whatever our boys do under the auspices of the Church should, of course, further their religious growth.²⁷⁶

This, he noted, was unfortunate, as Scouting, “has everything - international reputation and appeal, a prized uniform, a romantic atmosphere, a splendid code, a valuable curriculum.”²⁷⁷

How then, to address these long-lasting tensions between the objectives of the parson and Scoutmaster?

“The parson’s entree to the Troop room”: The Religion and Life Badge

Both Scouting and Canadian Protestant churches entered the postwar years with apprehensions over their abilities to exercise meaningful influence over Canadian boys. Their

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Blake M. Wood, “The Church Takes a Fresh Grip on Scouting,” *The Canadian Churchman*, September 2, 1943, 473.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

shared concern with the declining place of religion in boys' lives and the public sphere more generally pushed them to tighten their cooperation in boys' work. This shared interest manifested itself in the development of a new badge for religion, the Religion and Life Badge. The idea of developing a badge recognizing religious practice and knowledge had been discussed during the interwar period. In the summer of 1923, for instance, the Catholic Advisory Committee of the Montreal District Council of the Boy Scout Association contacted the Dominion Executive to inquire about creating a special badge for Scouts who served as Altar Boys and had "served Mass a given number of times (say 60) on week days."²⁷⁸ The Executive decided to strike a committee on the matter, though the minutes of the meeting did note that "certain members of the Executive Committee did not look with favour on the institution of such a badge."²⁷⁹ By October, the Executive had decided not to pursue the creation of a "Religious Devotion" badge because "some of the authorities in the Catholic Church were objecting to the principle involved."²⁸⁰ The matter was revived in 1925 through a new motion from the Montreal Council, and this time the Executive Committee appeared more open to the idea, if Catholic religious authorities would approve the requirements and its evaluation.²⁸¹ No actual badge appears to have come as a result, however, as extant records reveal no further discussion on the matter.²⁸²

Within the Tuxis and Trail Ranger movements, meanwhile, a number of badges had been created to encourage religious practice and spiritual reflection, including a church worship

²⁷⁸ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 4, Folder 4, Minutes, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, 1923-1924, Minutes- June 7, 1923.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 4, Folder 4, Minutes, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, 1923-1924, Minutes - October 4, 1923.

²⁸¹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 4, Folder 5, Minutes, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, 1925-1926, November 3, 1925.

²⁸² This likely became a moot point after the creation of La Fédération des Scouts catholiques de la province de Québec in 1935, which did not include such a badge in its program.

badge, church school badge, church relationship badge, Bible study badge, morning watch badge, and arts and nature badge.²⁸³ The use of badges in both programs had created tensions throughout the interwar period, with some religious leaders worrying that badge requirements pushed boys into a “stereotyped, rigid program,” and limited their individual exploration of their faith.²⁸⁴ Training manuals for leaders in these movements thus reiterated that badges should not be seen as ends in and of themselves, particularly in regards to faith and character, but rather should serve as “a means of stimulating interest and creating desires in relation to important fields of boy activity.”²⁸⁵ The Tuxis badge catalogue went even further in describing what striving for badges could and should not seek to do:

“If the Tuxis Badges come to be looked upon as a reward for the thing done, as an end in themselves and not simply as a mark of progress in worthwhile activities, they will fail as an aid to the building of Christian character [...] If, on the other hand, the Tuxis Honor Badges prove useful as a means of stimulating interest and creating desires in relation to important fields of activity and result in the rooting of new and worth while interests, they will serve a very useful purpose.”²⁸⁶

Scouting also wrestled with how best to encourage boys to embrace, in thought and action, their “Duty to God.” The possibility of including more overtly religious content in badges and program material simmered throughout the 1930s, as both Scout officials and Protestant leaders met occasionally to discuss potential areas for further cooperation and collaboration. After one such meeting, R.A. Hiltz, General Secretary of the Board of Religions Education for the Church of England in Canada, wrote to Scout officials to notify them that the church’s Joint Committee on Work Among Older Boys had concluded that, since “the bulk of the church’s

²⁸³ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 107-3, Promotional Materials, Tuxis Boys’ Badge Book (Toronto: The National Boys’ Work Board of the Religious Education Council of Canada, 1928), 50-53.

²⁸⁴ LAC, CCC, MG28 I327, Volume 22, File 7, Religious Education Council of Canada Minutes - National Boys’ Work Board, 1925, Report of the National Boys’ Work Board, April 17, 1925, 20-21.

²⁸⁵ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 107-1, Boys’ Work Committee: historical data, 1920-1930, Introductory Unit of the Mentors Training Course, June, 1926.

²⁸⁶ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 107-3, Promotional Materials, Tuxis Boys’ Badge Book (Toronto: The National Boys’ Work Board of the Religious Education Council of Canada, 1928), 4-5.

work with teen-age boys was done through Scouting,” Scouting should be brought more “closely in touch with the work of the Church.”²⁸⁷ Hiltz noted that they had suggested producing a special pamphlet to encourage the use of Scouting in the Church, as well as making more explicit use of missionary promotional material in Scout programming. Finally, the committee recommended “the working out of a system of badges related to the Church and the incorporation of these into the Scout badge system.”²⁸⁸

Chief Executive Commissioner John Stiles felt that this overture from the Anglican Church represented “a wonderful opportunity for helping the church.”²⁸⁹ Stiles contacted his American colleagues in the Boy Scouts of America to see if they had any similar badge agreements with American churches. His American counterpart offered that a badge was a “very interesting” concept but that both American Catholic and Protestant leaders had reservations about such a badge. Catholics, he argued, “are reluctant to have the boy receive physical, extraneous reward for the development of his spiritual program,” while some Protestants, particularly Lutherans, were very suspicious of any attempt to impose externally-defined religious standards on their troops.²⁹⁰

This appears to have again squelched any interest in creating a badge for religious devotion or practice. The outbreak of war in 1939, however, triggered a heightened sense of idealism and a sense of a new opportunity and urgency for Scouting to expand its public influence. A special sub-committee on expansion met throughout the war to consider ways to broaden Scouting’s appeal and reach. The idea of a badge for religious devotion was resurrected

²⁸⁷ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 7, Folder 2, Executive Board of Canadian General Council meetings, 1937, Meeting of June 23, 1937.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Belleville Scout and Guide Museum, Frank Irwin Collection, Binder 2, Ray O. Wyland, Director of Education and Relationships, Boy Scouts of America, to John Stiles, August 23, 1938.

as part of this process. Frank Irwin, Assistant Commissioner in the Ontario Scout Council, suggested that the Dominion Executive take a second look at a religious devotion badge in May of 1940.²⁹¹ After pondering the idea, the Board determined that the badge could prove problematic in its administration and deferred an immediate decision.²⁹² After exploring whether such badges existed in the United States and Britain, the Board finally decided that, “because so many Scout Groups are sponsored by the Churches, and since the Association owes so much otherwise to the various denominations,” it would open the door to developing a more formal relationship with Canadian churches. This new relationship would include the development of their own religious devotion badges.²⁹³

The Anglican Church was the first denomination to pick up on the opportunity to include more religious content in the Scout program.²⁹⁴ Blake Wood, chair of the Committee on Work Amongst Teen-Age Boys, proposed the creation of a new “Religion and Life Badge,” and a new manual on Scouting in the Church in order to join their mutual interests. The new badge, he hoped, would rejuvenate Scouting’s religious potential:

If the attainment of the badge is kept before the boys, a new tone will be set which will affect every Scout and Cub. Here is the means to enhance the significance of the promise “to do my duty to God”, without descending to anything so crass as a medal for piety. Here is the way to bring Scouting into closer touch with the Church and the Church with Scouting. Here is the parson’s entree to the Troop room.²⁹⁵

The badge required a Scout to attend a certain number of religious services, volunteer for the church in some capacity and to demonstrate knowledge both of the Bible and of the church’s

²⁹¹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 7, Folder 5, Executive Board of Canadian General Council meetings, 1940, Meeting of May 14, 1940.

²⁹² LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 7, Folder 5, Executive Board of Canadian General Council meetings, 1940, Meeting of October 8, 1940.

²⁹³ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 7, Folder 6, Executive Board of Canadian General Council meetings, 1941-1942, Meeting of 11 February, 1941. Interestingly enough, in its motion to allow for Church emblems and badges, the Board pointedly observed that “the word Church must be understood to include Synagogue, Mosque, etc., etc.”

²⁹⁴ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 7, Folder 7, Executive Board of Canadian General Council meetings, 1943-1944, Meeting of March 17, 1943.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

governing structures.²⁹⁶ The new manual for Anglican troop leaders and troop chaplains reiterated the church's argument that the Scout movement provided an ideal vehicle for religious education. It argued that Scouting's "value is its effectiveness in interpreting religion to the average boy in concrete terms of 'doing' and preventing him from developing the attitude that to be religious is somehow to be lacking in manliness," and noted that "Scouting is a virile, ever-looking forward programme, and has behind it a fund of successful experience; new ideas are constantly being collected, collated, and passed out to our leaders, through official monthlies and other publications, and by our comprehensive training system."²⁹⁷ Scouting remained important for both church life and national life, argued the manual, because "[i]ts objective is the making of good citizens, and the surest way to make good citizens of our youth is to make them thorough Christians."²⁹⁸

Some Anglican clergy remained sceptical of the effort to include more religious content in the Scout movement, either through badges or increased emphasis on religion in training documents. The Rev. J. Gregory Less, of Ottawa, for instance, praised the development of new religion badges and connected it to the renewed inclusion of "formal religion" in Ontario public schools.²⁹⁹ He worried, though, that these accomplishments might weaken the strength of faith in the public sphere even further:

There is still the departmentalizing of religion so that it is merely a sideline and not part of the whole scheme. It's not good enough to have religion as one of many subjects of the curriculum; it's not good enough to have religion as one of numerous badges available to Boy Scouts. There is the need to have religion made relevant to all the subjects on the

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ GSA, General Board of Religious Education of the Church of England in Canada, *A Manual on Scouting in The Church of England in Canada for Chaplains and Leaders* (Toronto: Committee on Boys' Work – General Board of Religious Education of the Church of England in Canada, 1944), 4.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 8.

²⁹⁹ During the war, schools in the Prairies, as well as Ontario, had increased religious instruction in public schools, and this trend continued into the postwar period, Keshen *Saints, Sinners and Soldiers*, 217; Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*; R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, "The Christian Recessional in Ontario's Public Schools," in Van Die, *Religion and Public Life*, 275-93.

curriculum; and there is the need to make religion more central in the Scouting programme.³⁰⁰

Less conceded that Scouting remained “the best framework we have in which to build up a strong church organization for boys such as will develop devout, loyal, and at the same time virile churchmen,” but argued that more than just a badge needed to be added before it could be considered “Church Scouting.” Too often, he noted, the failure to fully inject religious teachings in the movement meant that it produced “nothing better than physically healthy, virile pagans - tinged with pantheism.”³⁰¹

Rev. Canon H.J. Cody, of St. Paul’s parish in Toronto, offered a vigorous rebuff to these types of criticisms. Cody had assumed the Presidency of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scout Association in 1944. He argued that Scouting was “fundamentally religious.”³⁰² In language that was representative of the strident nationalism of the war years, Cody called on his fellow churchmen to help build “a generation of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, grown to manhood and to womanhood, indoctrinated with the practice of honour, loyalty, purity, cooperation, courtesy, helpfulness, reverence. It would mean a better Canada, a better Empire, a better world.”³⁰³ Cody was an ardent supporter of Scouting and he tied this support to a broader Anglican support of a British variant of Canadian nationalism.³⁰⁴

Cody was heavily involved in discussions around the relationship between Scouting and Canadian churches, more specifically the incorporation of more religious content in the Scout

³⁰⁰ J. Gregory Less, “Make Religion More Central in the Scouting program,” *The Canadian Churchman*, February 15, 1945, 100.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² H.J. Cody, “The Church and Scouting,” *The Canadian Churchman*, February 15, 1945,” 102.

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ D.C. Masters, *Henry John Cody: An Outstanding Life* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1995). For more on Cody, Anglican nationalism and his home parish, St. Paul’s see William Westfall, “Constructing Public Religions at Private Sites The Anglican Church in the Shadow of Disestablishment,” in *Religion and Public Life in Canada Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Marguente Van Die (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 23-49.

program. In late 1944, for instance, after the Church of England and Presbyterian Churches had both submitted their own requirements for a Religion and Life badge, the executive board of the Canadian General Council decided to explore the possibility of creating a universal Religion and Life badge.³⁰⁵ Cody, along with a few other members of the board, presented their design and justification for the new badge in early 1946. Cody argued that the new design, which blended the Greek symbols for Alpha and Omega “was fundamentally theistic, and since it represented religion in general, it could give offence to nobody.”³⁰⁶ Cody again provided the main arguments in favour of the design during a presentation of the final draft in October of 1946. The board’s approved rules noted the continuing importance of religion within the movement’s ethos:

We must continually remind ourselves that ‘Duty to God’ comes first in the Scout Promise. Therefore, because of its importance in the education of the Scout, Scout Commissioners, Scoutmasters and Group Chaplains are urged to pay special attention to this new award. That Scouting is fundamentally religious was repeatedly emphasized by Lord Baden-Powell, the Founder. We, therefore, realize the importance of religious training but recognize that such training is primarily the responsibility of the Church and the Home.³⁰⁷

Though Scouting’s leadership gave a nod to the continued importance and autonomy of the traditional bulwarks of religious education - church and home - the very creation of the Religion and Life badge reflected a growing interest in reinforcing the perceived flagging influence of religion in boys’ lives. The Association’s annual report made this connection clear to their membership when it announced that the new Religion and Life Badge was created in order to “give greater emphasis to the spiritual aspects of Scouting, and to bring the work of

³⁰⁵ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 7, Folder 7, Executive Board of Canadian General Council meetings, 1943-1944, Meeting of October 5, 1944.

³⁰⁶ LAC, BSC, Microfilm reel C-13939, Dominion Executive Board Meeting Minutes, 1946, Meeting, April 30, 1946.

³⁰⁷ LAC, BSC, Microfilm reel C-13939, Dominion Executive Board Meeting Minutes, 1946, Meeting October 2, 1946. The requirements for the badge would be left to the national leadership of each denomination.

sponsoring churches into a closer alliance with the Movement.”³⁰⁸ An editorial in *The Scout Leader* noted that many “many men found religion for the first time in their lives” during the war; the unsigned editorial went on to argue that, “This dependence upon God is the keystone of the arch which is Scouting, and without which the whole structure of the Scouting programme would come tumbling to the ground.”³⁰⁹ It exhorted Scoutmasters to lead by example through their own behaviour and by “living the kind of life which embodies all those principles which ‘Duty to God’ implies.” All the other character-building tenets of the program, argued the journal’s editors, were pointless unless guided by this fundamental religious underpinning: “Regular attendance, steady advancement, neatness of appearance are virtues much to be desired, but unless they serve the one great purpose of helping the boy to ‘increase in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man,’ they may become mere operations of a human machine.”³¹⁰ The badge proved a popular concept with religious leaders; by early 1948 all of the mainline Protestant denominations had published requirements for the new badge for their church-sponsored troops.³¹¹

Boys and God in the Atomic Age

This concern with the next generation becoming “mere operations of a human machine,” reflected a broader postwar *malaise* in some Canadian circles about the technological and social changes wrought by the atomic age and the Cold War. Many hoped for a religious rebirth in the years after the war to counter the significant technological and ideological change sweeping the world. Scouting’s Chief Executive Commissioner Dan Spry frequently referred to these concerns in his speeches about Scouting’s potential contribution in the postwar era. At the age of 31, Spry

³⁰⁸ LAC, BSC, Microfilm reel C-13940, Annual Reports - Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 1946-1949, Annual Report, 1946, 41.

³⁰⁹ “The Spiritual Implications of Scouting,” *The Scout Leader*, April, 1946, 106.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹¹ “Religion and Life Award Requirements,” *The Scout Leader*, June, 1948, 159.

had served as the youngest Major-General in the Allied forces and accepted the nomination as Chief Executive for Scouting in 1946, serving from 1946 to 1953, when he left to serve on the International Scout Council in Geneva, Switzerland. Spry was an active supporter of the Scout movement during his time in the military, providing endorsements of the movement and writing the occasional message to Scouts in *The Scout Leader* during the war.³¹² In remarks to the General Council's executive at his nomination in early 1946 Spry renewed this sense of duty to uphold the ideals of the war in arguing "that that for which we fought would not be delivered on a platter; in fact at times it was difficult even to see the platter."³¹³

Spry's optimism and insistence that the war serve as a springboard for social and national improvement continued throughout his time as Commissioner. A few years after taking the reins of the Canadian Scout movement, for instance, Spry provided an overview of the challenges faced by Canadian society in his annual address. Titled "Scouting in the Atomic Age," Spry tied religious faith to the fight against Communism:

Our technological progress has so far outstripped our spiritual and sociological endeavours that man appears not as a bull in a china shop but as a frightened fawn in a steel plant.

Therefore, we see the signs of the times. We see the results of confusion and fear in increased church attendance, new church construction, and increased sale of books of a religious and psychological content. We see, perhaps the first stirring of a religious revival or resurgence as an indication of man's recognition of his own weakness in the face of complexity and his readiness to plead his case before something greater - something more stable than himself.

³¹² Dan C. Spry, "A Message to the Scouts and Scouters of Canada," *The Scout Leader*, February, 1945, 75. For more on Spry, see Gordon Christopher Case, "A 'Realistic Idealist': Major-General Dan Spry, The Lessons of War, and the Role of Veterans in Shaping Postwar Canada," (PhD dissertation: University of Ottawa, in progress).

³¹³ LAC, BSC, Microfilm reel C-13939, Dominion Executive Board Meeting Minutes, 1946, Meeting April 30, 1946. 7.

It is just this sort of confused mental and spiritual condition in man which makes him turn to Communism or Fascism for help, stability, etc., - if he is not prepared to think his problem to a sensible conclusion.

We who live by the democratic process must realize that indeed we must turn to something more potent than ourselves. We must strengthen our religious convictions and thereby strengthen ourselves. We must help ourselves if we expect help from God.

[...] let us see to it that the Boy Scout Movement so organizes itself and conducts itself that we can provide the opportunity for more and more boys to be trained to prepare themselves spiritually and mentally to live not as frightened fawns, but as young bucks.³¹⁴

In order to meet these needs, Spry and his fellow executives developed a plan to expand the reach of the Scout movement - Plan Opportunity. It called for a number of outreach initiatives, as well as improving the research capacity of the national office in Ottawa. One of the more significant outreach strategies centred on improving relations with those denominations which still had some reservations about the utility of the movement as a religious education vehicle suitable for boys in their churches. Beyond the Religion and Life Badge badges, Spry recommended the creation of a Dominion Religious Advisory Committee, composed of both religious leaders and lay people, which would advise the national executive on religious content “in order that the policy of the Boy Scouts Association might be developed in harmony with all the denominations.”³¹⁵ Scouting’s executive reinforced its commitment to closer relations with the churches as one of the best means of encouraging expansion and noting that “Scouting has gained the goodwill and support of the Churches, and Scouting should ensure that boys in the Movement give loyal support to their church and its activities.”³¹⁶

³¹⁴ LAC, BSC, Microfilm reel C-13939, Dominion Executive Committee Meeting Minutes, June, 1946 - October, 1949, Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council, Ottawa, April 29, 1949, 5-6.

³¹⁵ LAC, BSC, Microfilm reel C-13939, Dominion Executive Board Meeting Minutes, 1946, December 12, 1946, 4.

³¹⁶ LAC, BSC, Microfilm reel C-13939, Dominion Executive Committee Meeting Minutes, June, 1946 - October, 1949, April 18, 1947.

This goodwill proved difficult to maintain, particularly with the largest Protestant denomination in Canada. As discussed earlier, United Church leaders had been amongst the staunchest supporters of the Tuxis and Trail Ranger movements. United Churchmen, in an effort to rally Protestant forces for postwar renewal, had been at the forefront of discussions leading to the creation of the Canadian Council of Churches.³¹⁷ This drive to unify denominational energies also carried over into their religious education work, where sustaining the Tuxis and Trail Ranger movements was initially a top priority.³¹⁸ United Church leaders were also concerned with the growing popularity of “community organizations which have sprung up during the war and since for social, recreational, and cultural activities, but with *very little, if any, provision for religion.*”³¹⁹ This concern with being outflanked by secular or non-denominational boys’ movements renewed interest in broadening the reach of United Church boys’ work. Complaints about younger boys trying to sign up for camps or events geared to older boys reignited the discussion about expanding Protestant offerings for “junior” boys.³²⁰ The Thirteenth General Council of the Church, meeting in Vancouver in 1948, called for the development of a new program for junior boys (ages eight to eleven).³²¹ The Exploratory committee on junior boys’ work of the United Church quickly set to work developing a new junior boys’ program in 1949. In its opening deliberations, the committee members (all men) repeated longstanding fears about the feminization of the church. They expressed concern with the dominance of women in many of the church structures set up for children, and noted that “young men who are leaders of Junior

³¹⁷ Goodwin, “The Canadian Council of Churches,” 147-153.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 165.

³¹⁹ UCCA, General Council, Record of Proceedings, 1946, 212, 341 (emphasis in the original).

³²⁰ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 108-6, Tuxis Committee, minutes, 1946-1948, Minutes, United Church Committee on Boys’ Work, April 1, 1946.

³²¹ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 114-7, Scouting: correspondence, re, 1933-1952, Report on Junior Boys’ Programme to the Biennial Meeting of the Board of Christian Education, April, 1949.

Boys frequently resent working under committees and counsellors comprised largely of women member (sic).”³²²

This concern with the sway of women over boys extended into their consultations with various child experts. Dr. Hedley Dimock, a child studies and camping advocate at George Williams College in Chicago, told the committee that the ages of 9-12 were critical for a boy’s developing masculinity, because he was “becoming emancipated from the family.” Too often, he argued, boys of this age lacked male role models, “If a boy is to learn how to be a man, he must learn from a man.”³²³ William Line, a professor of Psychology at the University of Toronto, reiterated this argument, telling the committee that “90% of teachers in the primary grades are women. The ‘man image’ needs to be prominent in the life of the junior boy.”³²⁴ Accordingly, the committee decided that the existing coeducational program for juniors, Explorers, could not compete with Scouting’s boys-only Wolf Cub movement. A unisex junior boys’ movement, they hoped, would prove a more suitable and competitive model for their men in training.³²⁵

The committee eventually proposed a new movement called Tyro (from the Latin for “novice” or “young soldier”). The committee’s description of the new programme stated the need for greater masculine modelling in stark terms. Young boys, they argued, needed to be provided space where they could learn with other boys, free from their mother’s influence. The new movement’s promoters went on to note that “as the boy has been more closely associated with his mother up to this age and as his teachers in Sunday School and school probably have

³²² UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 113-3, Exploratory Committee, minutes, Junior Boys’ Program historical data, re Tyro, 1949, Minutes, Exploratory Committee on Junior Boys’ Work, January 18, 1949.

³²³ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 113-3, Exploratory Committee, minutes, Junior Boys’ Program historical data, re Tyro, 1949, Minutes, Exploratory Committee on Junior Boys’ Work, March 1, 1949.

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 113-3, Exploratory Committee, minutes, Junior Boys’ Program historical data, re Tyro, 1949, February 1, 1949. This was in spite of the presence of female Cub masters in the Cub movement.

been women, young men will be sought as leaders.”³²⁶ The program incorporated “progression” awards to reward boys in the 5 targeted areas of activity: “Growth in Democratic Living, Growth in Physical Skills, Growth in Knowledge, Growth in Christian Service, Growth in Religious Experience.”³²⁷ After testing the programme over the course of a summer, Tyro was officially launched in 1950.³²⁸

Though many leaders in the United Church’s national committees fretted over the encroachment of competing boys’ movements, and sought to head them off with reinvigorated church-based efforts, others were more willing to try and engage them in order to ensure that they could be adapted to suit the churches’ needs. Nelson Chappel, a United Church minister and Secretary of the new Department of Christian Education (DCE) in the Canadian Council of Churches, played an important role in bringing the United Church and Scouting onto common ground.³²⁹ In addition to serving as Boys’ Work Secretary in the Department of Christian Education, he was a member of the executive of the Boy Scout Association. As Boys’ Work Secretary of the DCE he was responsible not only for the promotion and management of official church boys’ programs, but also for managing relationships with non-church boys’ programs like Scouting.³³⁰ He helped coordinate, for instance, the development of the Religion and Life badge for each of the members of the CCC in the early postwar years. He was a staunch supporter of the Scouting movement within the Protestant community, working to remind his colleagues of the significant place of Scouting within many local church communities. “Since Church Scout

³²⁶ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 114-7, Scouting: correspondence, re, 1933-1952, Report on Junior Boys Programme to the Biennial meeting of the Board of Christian Education, April, 1949.

³²⁷ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 113-3, Exploratory Committee, minutes, Junior Boys’ Program historical data, re Tyro, 1949, Minutes, Exploratory Committee on Junior Boys’ Work, May 5, 1949.

³²⁸ UCCA, General Council. Record of Proceedings, 1950, 90.

³²⁹ LAC, CCC, MG28 I327, Volume 23, File 15, Department of Christian Education Minutes - National Boys’ Work Committee - Executive, 1948, Docket of Reports, Staff Conference and Annual Meeting, 1948.

³³⁰ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 4, Folder 5, Minutes, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, 1947, February 12, 1947.

Troops represent the largest number of teen-age groups in the Churches, following any one programme,” he argued at one annual meeting, “our relationship to this Movement is an important one.”³³¹

Chappel’s commitment to cooperation in church work extended beyond the churches’ relationship with Scouting. He exemplified the liberal idealism that fuelled many Protestant churchmen and laypeople after the war. Like many other church leaders, Chappel worked to find ways to restore or sustain some religious presence in the public sphere, in this case in boys’ work. Like Scouting’s Chief Executive Commissioner Dan Spry, Chappel was convinced that investing in boys’ work was the best means to assure the democratic and Christian future of Canada. In a manual for Tuxis Mentors (adult leaders) for instance, he argued that the Mentor was “doing the biggest job in the world. He is working at the most strategic place to make a lasting World Peace possible, and to determine the kind (bold) of people who will give leadership in an Atomic age.”³³² Later, he also echoed the broader worries about Communism and modernity expressed by Spry in arguing that “If our world is to be made over, its peoples must be made over. A succession of Dictators has surely taught us that the strategic place for making the most rapid changes in any generation is with its Youth.”³³³ Moreover, Chappel often honed in on boys as particularly important to postwar reconstruction, arguing “What we do with boys today is far more strategic than many times that effort when they have grown older.”³³⁴

³³¹ LAC, CCC, MG28 I327, Volume 23, File 15, Department of Christian Education Minutes - National Boys’ Work Committee - Executive, 1948, Docket of Reports, Staff Conference and Annual Meeting, 1948, Report of the Boys’ Work Secretary.

³³² UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 107-5, Tuxis Promotional Materials, A Tuxis and Trail Ranger Guide for Presbytery and Conference, issued by the Boys’ Work Committee, Board of Christian Education, United Church of Canada, 1946, 3-4.

³³³ LAC, CCC, MG28 I327, Volume 12, File 1, Department of Christian Education, Minutes - Annual Meetings and Reports, 1947-1949, Minutes, Annual Meeting, April 16, 1948, 15.

³³⁴ LAC, CCC, MG28 I327, Volume 23, File 16, Department of Christian Education Minutes - National Boys’ Work Committee - Executive, 1949-1951, Annual Meeting, April 29, 1949, Docket of Reports.

Chappel played a key role in the somewhat rocky process of *rapprochement* between Scouting and the United Church in the late 1940s and into the 1950s. Though the United Church hoped to renew a denominational form of boys' work, it also faced the reality of the growing popularity of the Scout movement within its local churches. After the announcement of Scouting's Plan Opportunity under Spry, Chappel worked to convince his fellow churchmen of the need to work with, not against, the Boy Scouts:

I doubt whether there was ever a time when the Boy Scouts Association held the door open as wide to church co-operation as they do today and yet there seems to be a hesitation among our member units about taking advantage of this opportunity for fear we would be unduly advertising a Movement not controlled by the Church Boards of Christian Education. We must think in terms of the boys in these groups and of the opportunity provided for us to help them. I think we should recommend to our denominational boards that further consideration be given to the promotion of Christian education in church Scout Troops, through co-operation with the Boy Scouts Association as well as through local Church channels.³³⁵

Chappel's exhortation to work for closer collaboration came with a blunt reminder that "the only Movement which seems to be growing in the Protestant Churches at the present time is the Scout Movement."³³⁶ It was also undoubtedly aimed at some of the more recalcitrant members of his own church. The United Church's Board of Christian Education was undergoing its own re-evaluation of Scouting, in spite of its efforts to create new programs like the Tyros. Board members were concerned with the growth of Scouting in their churches and "that when Scouting is the recognized Boys' Work programme in some churches there is increasing difficulty in maintaining interest in Sunday School classes, church conferences and church

³³⁵ LAC, CCC, MG28 I327, Volume 23, File 16, Department of Christian Education Minutes - National Boys' Work Committee - Executive, 1949-1951, Annual Meeting, April 19, 1950, Docket of Reports. Report of the Secretary to the National Boys' Work Committee.

³³⁶ Ibid.

camps.”³³⁷ The Board called for a renewed dialogue with Scouting’s national office in order to clarify “the position of the National Boy Scout Headquarters with regard to Christian faith and the Church,” as well as to clarify the authority that churches could exercise over the Scout programme and selection of leaders.³³⁸

Little appears to have come of this resolution because the issue was still percolating at the 14th General Council of the United Church in Vancouver in 1950. The British Columbia Conference recommended a study of the church’s relationship with the movement, which the General Council adopted, calling for the creation of a special committee of the boys’ work committee to study how to make Scout the program “better serve the Church as instruments [sic] of Christian Education.”³³⁹ The committee struck to study the issue balked at the idea of promoting Scouting within the church, arguing instead that “the United Church should never undertake any promotion of Scouting. Our policy should be rather to indicate to Scout authorities what we as a denomination would want them to do in promoting their movement in United Churches.”³⁴⁰ More specifically, the committee insisted on top level consultations with Boy Scout officials about program content. They also insisted on better Christian leadership training for leaders, that troops be more democratic – mostly by changing patrol leader appointments - and that the program be more Christ-centred by increasing the religious content of badges and activities.³⁴¹

The United Church’s boys’ committee insisted on highlighting the suitability of its own boys’ movements, or expanding the reach of their boys’ programs to reach boys at a younger

³³⁷ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 111-1, Policy, Re: Boys’ Work, ca. 1948-1960, Actions of the Executive of the Board of Christian Education, April 6-7, 1948.

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ UCCA, General Council, Record of Proceedings, 1950, 79.

³⁴⁰ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 114-7, Scouting: correspondence, re, 1933-1952, Relationship of United Church Boys’ Work to the Boy Scout Movement, 1951, 2.

³⁴¹ Ibid., 2.

age. Ultimately they argued, in a 1950 United Church promotional leaflet, that the Tuxis movement was the best option for religious education: “The only permanent basis for good character is the Christian faith. Tuxis aims to develop Christian character. In sports and crafts, in worship and study the Tuxis Movement seeks to make its members God-conscious. Tuxis builds for life.”³⁴² Despite this support, the Tuxis movement continued to struggle to retain boys and the boys’ work committee continued to be hampered by a lack of resources and personnel. A 1950 Tuxis committee report of the Department of Christian Education of the Canadian Council of Churches highlighted the continuing problem of low enrolment, noting that, as far as boys’ work was concerned, “we believe that we now stand at one of the most critical points in our history as co-operating bodies in a Canadian Council of Churches.”³⁴³ The committee put this in much starker terms when discussing the creation of the Tyros and its expansion in 1952, “We have failed once to capture our boys for a church and Christ centred programme. A second failure will mean another great potential field of Christian witness lost to secular forces.”³⁴⁴ Kenneth Wills, Secretary of the DCE, lamented the “denominationalism” that continued to hamper efforts to combine the few resources available in boys’ work, thundering that “the forces of secularism and godlessness threaten our youth and our world. But Christ is not divided.”³⁴⁵

Assessing the strength of this “threat” from non-denominational youth movements and recreation is difficult. Though Protestant church leaders continued to sound the alarm on weak boys’ movement numbers, assessing the regional and national strength of the Tuxis, Trail Ranger

³⁴² UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 107-2, Boys’ Work Committee: historical data, 1920-1930, *The Tuxis Movement: What It Is, What It Does* (Toronto: National Tuxis Committee, Department of Christian Education Canadian Council of Churches, 1950).

³⁴³ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 108-1, Department of Christian Education/ Canadian Council of Churches, Boys’ Work Committee: records pertaining to Trail Rangers and Tuxis, 1950-1952, National Tuxis Committee, Canadian Council of Churches, September 26, 1950, 2.

³⁴⁴ LAC, CCC, MG28 I327, Volume 12, File 3, Department of Christian Education, Minutes - Annual Meetings and Reports, 1952-1953, Report of National Tuxis Committee, May 2, 1952.

³⁴⁵ LAC, CCC, MG28 I327, Volume 12, File 3, Department of Christian Education, Minutes - Annual Meetings and Reports, 1952-1953, Report of Secretary, April 29-30, 1953.

and Tyro movements in the postwar era is difficult as the existing records are very sparse. Statistics, when they do appear, are revealing. The National Tuxis Committee, for instance, reported a drop in national Tuxis enrolment from 1,222 boys in 1951 to 782 in 1952, while Trail Ranger enrolment dropped from 6,024 to 4,713 in the same period.³⁴⁶ The Boy Scouts, meanwhile, boasted 47,387 Scouts and 81,722 Wolf Cubs in 1952.³⁴⁷ Within the United Church, the most enthusiastic supporter of the Tuxis movement, the outlook was equally bleak for their preferred movement, though there was little ability to measure national enrolment. This is likely because the United Church, like many other denominations, lacked the resources to keep track of their own boys' movements.³⁴⁸ One local study provides a sense of the growing gap between Scout and Tuxis enrolment in the church. The Vancouver Presbytery of the United Church conducted a study of their boys' work in 1951 and submitted their findings to the Board of Christian Education as part of the discussion on relationships with Scouting. Their study revealed the "hitherto unrealized large part that Scouting is playing in the mid-week activities of the Church."³⁴⁹ Cubs, for instance, outnumbered Tyros by almost ten to one, while Scouts outnumbered Tuxis and Trail Rangers by a ratio of roughly three to one.³⁵⁰ While these figures cannot be seen as completely representative of the relative strength of church-led and Scout-

³⁴⁶ LAC, CCC, MG28 I327, Volume 12, File 3, Department of Christian Education, Minutes - Annual Meetings and Reports, 1952-1953, Report of the National Tuxis Committee, 1953, 2a.

³⁴⁷ Boy Scouts Association, Canadian General Council, *Annual Report of the Executive Committee, 1952* (Ottawa, Canadian General Council, Boy Scouts Association, 1952), 54.

³⁴⁸ Neither the Department of Christian Education records in the Canadian Council of Churches records or the Board of Christian Education records for the United Church contained any statistical reporting of boy's groups in the 1950s.

³⁴⁹ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 114-7, Scouting: correspondence, re, 1933-1952, United Church of Canada - Vancouver Presbytery: An analysis of Boys Work in Comparison to Sunday Schools, December 21, 1951.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

based programmes in the Church across the country, they help explain why many Church leaders feared that they were “near the bottom of the barrel” in terms of competing with Scouting.³⁵¹

The declining enrolment in their own movements led to a review of boys’ work policy in 1952. This review focused much of its attention on the church’s relationship with the Scout movement.³⁵² On the issue of the place of religion in the movement’s teachings, United Church Boys’ Work Secretary David Forsyth worried that, by placing the emphasis on “achievement” in religion through the Religion and Life badges the movement was actually encouraging “an unnatural division in a boy’s life between citizenship and religion,” without fully explaining how religion should be a part of the entirety of a boy’s life.³⁵³ W.L. Currier, a Scouting executive officer in Ottawa, tried to assuage Forsyth by claiming that “we all feel that Duty to God is so basic and so much part of real Scouting that perhaps that is the reason why no special target was mentioned for it [...] Scouting wants the various churches to have a determining part in the religious content of the Scout Programme for their own particular denomination.”³⁵⁴ Currier’s argument convinced Forsyth; by 1953, his concerns had been either sufficiently addressed or clarified to convince both he and the United Church’s Board of Christian Education to recommend that the church “prepare a denominational pamphlet or co-operate in the preparation of an interdenominational pamphlet that will suggest ways in which there can be church support and supervision, and the religious emphasis can be integrated in the program plans of local

³⁵¹ See Report of the United Church of Canada in LAC, CCC, MG28 I327, Volume 23, File 16, Department of Christian Education Minutes - National Boys’ Work Committee - Executive, 1949-1951, Meeting, Staff Conference, April 29, 1949.

³⁵² See a series of exchanges between Boys Work Secretary for the United Church, David Forsyth, and the Boy Scout Association’s W.L. Currier, UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 114-7, Scouting: correspondence, re, 1933-1952.

³⁵³ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 114-7, Scouting: correspondence, re, 1933-1952, Forsyth to Currier, May 28, 1952.

³⁵⁴ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 114-7, Scouting: correspondence, re, 1933-1952, Currier to Forsyth, June 2, 1952. Currier ended his letter with a hand-written postscript, “I do so want the misunderstandings to disappear and if I can have a part in this I will feel very humble. We have so much to do to bring boys to His Way on earth.”

church controlled Boy Scout Troops.”³⁵⁵ The pamphlet itself, produced in late 1954 or early 1955, noted the popularity of the Scout movement in the church, and reminded readers that it was “the responsibility of every local Church with a Church-sponsored (Church-controlled) Scout Group to see that each boy receives as much Christian Education as can be provided.”³⁵⁶

The shift towards more overt support for Scouting within the United Church was not without its detractors within the Board of Christian Education. In October of 1955, an editorial appeared in the church’s official periodical, the *United Church Observer*, which argued that the Scout movement was often overlooked in the church’s religious education efforts:

While many denominational programmes have to be organized, pushed, sold and have not got such a potential leadership, the Scouts go rolling along [...] It is very easy to give them a polite nod, let them use the Church basement, and do nothing else for them. And it seems popular to set up a rival programme which too often toddles along, while all the little boys of the Church go off to Scouts at the school or hall, where the groups may be very secular. If handled well, it is a movement which may be used for significant Christian Boys’ Work, and Scout Headquarters (we have found over many years) is most anxious to help.³⁵⁷

Though the piece was meant to boost support for Scouting, it was also interpreted as a thinly-veiled critique of the efforts of church boys’ workers. This triggered a sharp rebuke from the Boys’ Work Committee of the church. The committee sent a letter to the Executive of the General Council to request steps “be taken to see that future articles and editorials in the United Church paper would not under-cut, by implication or otherwise, denominational Boys’ Work which was under the direction of the General Council.”³⁵⁸

³⁵⁵ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 114-7, Scouting: correspondence, re, 1933-1952, Board Meeting, April, 1953.

³⁵⁶ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 114-8, Christian Education and Scouting, pamphlets, 1949-1964, The Boy Scout Group in Churches of the United Church of Canada: For Scouters and Chaplains, pamphlet (Toronto: The National Committee Junior, Intermediate and Senior Boys’ Work, n.d.), 3.

³⁵⁷ “Scouts and the Church,” *The United Church Observer*, October 1, 1955, 6.

³⁵⁸ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 111-4, Boys Work Committee minutes, 1950-1958, October 18, 1955.

The silence of the United Church's General Council in light of the complaint from the Boys' Work Committee reflected its shifting focus towards working to use the more popular Scout movement for church objectives.³⁵⁹ By 1955, the Tuxis movement was in such dire straits in terms of both membership and administrative support that the national committee in charge of its operations argued that "Church-centred programmes for senior boys have deteriorated almost to the point of complete disuse," and argued that national boys' work conferences and promotional work should be shut down to allow administrators to focus on a yet another review of their boys' programming.³⁶⁰ The Department of Christian Education of the Canadian Council of Churches had also shifted to establish closer relations with the Scout movement to ensure that its clear popularity in their member churches could be used to the advantage of religious educators.

Preparing for the "oncoming army" of Boys: Scouting's Relationships Committee

Frederick J. Finlay, the former General Secretary of the Bank of Nova Scotia, assumed the position of Chief Executive Commissioner for the Scouts in 1954.³⁶¹ Shortly after his appointment, Finlay set to work to create new structures within the movement's national headquarters to streamline relations with the churches. In April, for instance, he suggested to fellow members of the executive committee that a special committee on church relationships, an idea briefly entertained after the war, be revived. This was part of a broader question he raised about "whether our sponsorship relations were all they should be. The general feeling was they

³⁵⁹There appears to have been no follow-up to the complaint in the committee's records.

³⁶⁰ LAC, CCC, MG28 I327, Volume 23, File 17, Department of Christian Education Minutes - National Boys' Work Committee - Executive, 1953-1956, Minutes - Boys Work Committee, September 13, 1955, 1.

³⁶¹ "Meet our new Chief Executive Commissioner," *The Scout Leader*, February 1954, 92. Dan Spry had vacated the position to take on new responsibilities with the International Headquarters of the Scout movement in London, England.

were not, and we should set up a committee as an adjunct to this Executive Committee to deal with this important part of our programme.”³⁶²

Finlay’s suggestion was implemented quickly; a new Relationships Department opened in 1956. The goal of the new department was not simply to facilitate communication with existing sponsoring bodies, but to broaden the reach of Scouting throughout the country:

The activities of the department are based on the recognition that Scouting is not an independent organization in the community, but a partner with existing institutions in the task of making the Boy Scout programme available to boys [...]

To make sure that the Scout programme plays its full part in the growth and development of the country and keeps pace with current needs and provides for accelerated growth, more and more sponsoring institutions of all kinds will be needed to join with the Boy Scouts Association in bringing the programme to Canadian boys.³⁶³

Building closer relationships with the churches, then, became part of a broader strategy to try and expand the reach of the Scout movement. The new Director, Bert Mortlock, was particularly well suited to the task of solidifying relations between Scouting and the churches. Mortlock, a former journalist, had worked at the National Scout headquarters in Ottawa since 1942 and was also a member of the Ottawa Diocesan Board of Religious Education for the Church of England.³⁶⁴

The creation of the professionally staffed Relationships Department signalled both the desire to expand the movement’s reach as well as an awareness of the changing demographics facing the movement. The baby boom generation of children were coming of Cub and Scout age and the Scout Association was very aware of the potential this wave of children represented both for the movement and for the country. In March of 1953, for instance, *The Scout Leader* featured a table of the male birth rate between 1930 and 1950 with the simple, yet provocative headline

³⁶² LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 4, Folder 10, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, Minutes - 1954, April 10, 1954, 9, 20.

³⁶³ “Know Your Canadian Headquarters: Part III - Relationships Department,” *The Scout Leader*, December, 1956, 62.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 63.

““Now Look Here - Do We Stop Planning?””³⁶⁵ The creation of the Relationships Department was framed as part of a strategy of meeting the needs of a growing population of Scout-aged boys. The boom of children, argued the magazine’s editors, offered “a great challenge” for the movement. They lamented the fact that only “one in five” Canadian boys was in the movement and called for Scouting strive to hit a half million members by 1963 by doing all it could to continue its average growth of 15% per year.³⁶⁶ Canadian church leaders were also aware of this demographic bulge sweeping Canada. A.H. Priest, the General Secretary of the General Board of Religious Education for the Anglican Church noted the demographic surge hitting Canadian schools and asked “If this is a very real problem for the State, what about the Church? Have we the spiritual resources to meet this oncoming army of which the advanced troops are already upon us?”³⁶⁷

It was this “oncoming army” that Scouting hoped to harness more effectively in the movement by creating its Relationships Department. Though the department also discussed ways of reaching out to other organizations - including labour unions and various business and other associations - to sponsor Scouting, it is revealing that the movement’s leaders continued to devote significant attention and effort towards solidifying the connections between the churches and the movement well into the 1960s.³⁶⁸ Bert Mortlock, the department’s director, was instrumental in organizing an annual “Church Relationships Conference” where representatives of the various sponsoring churches could meet with Scout officials to discuss a range of issues,

³⁶⁵ “Now Look Here - Do We Stop Planning?” *The Scout Leader*, March, 1953, 121.

³⁶⁶ “Know Your Canadian Headquarters: Part III - Relationships Department,” *The Scout Leader*, December, 1956, 62.

³⁶⁷ LAC, CCC, MG28 I327, Volume 12, File 5, Department of Christian Education, Minutes - Annual Meetings and Reports, 1956-1957, Report of the Anglican Church of Canada, April 20-24, 1956, 14.

³⁶⁸ See, for example, the discussion on sponsorship in LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 5, Folder 1, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, Minutes, 1958, October 24 and 25, 1958, 12-13.

from specific aspects of the movement's religious policy to leader training.³⁶⁹ Mortlock also established a publication for promoting cooperation between churches and Scouting called *Scouting in the Churches*.³⁷⁰ Records of these conferences and related correspondence are sparse or non-existent in both church and Scouting archives, but what does exist testifies to efforts on both sides to build a mutual understanding of the policies and regulations of the Scout movement and how the churches could use the program to their advantage.

By 1960 the United Church had revised its boys' programming, eliminating the Trail Rangers in favour of a new program for boys twelve to fourteen years of age and keeping a modestly revised Tuxis program.³⁷¹ For all intents and purposes, Scouting had become the *de facto* boys' movement in the church. Like the Anglican Church, which had embraced Scouting much earlier, United Church leaders opted to merge their boys' work efforts with the like-minded Scout movement. A special committee on the topic admitted as much in calling for the church to set up more formal structures to manage Scouting within the church:

There is considerable need then for our church to 'go active' in challenging the church at conference, presbytery, and local church level to face up to the situation as it really exists. To do this, however, we need to have an adequate training program and resources to offer them. For this would not be an effort to eliminate Scouting, but merely to get it used for some more effective Christian education purposes.³⁷²

The church's Standing Committee on Junior, Intermediate, and Senior Boys Work also lobbied the Board of Christian Education to work more collaboratively with the Scouts at the end of the 1950s, arguing that cooperation is "basic to a position of strength and realism for The United

³⁶⁹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 4, Folder 13, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, Minutes, 1957, October 25 - 26, 1957, Appendix.

³⁷⁰ The most complete collection of these special publications can be found in UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 115-1, Scouting, Church Relationships Conference, 1960-1964.

³⁷¹ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 111-1, Policy, Re: Boys' Work, ca. 1958-1960, Policy and Programmes for the Christian Education of Boys in the United Church of Canada, 1960.

³⁷² UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 111-1, Policy, Re: Boys' Work, ca. 1958-1960, Confidential Facts about the Boys' Work Picture in the United Church of Canada, especially in relationship to Church-sponsored Cub-Scout groups within local United Churches, n.d.

Church of Canada, in working with an association of strength and aggressive leadership if the Church of Jesus Christ is to stand for the Church in its Mission of reaching effectively the thousands of youth in its communities.”³⁷³ This sense of necessity drove the Committee to create a special Scouting Council in 1961 to handle its relations with the Scout Association.³⁷⁴ This Council would act as the church’s primary deliberative body in its relationship with Scouting throughout the 1960s and also selected church delegates to attend the annual Church Relationships Conference organized by the Scout Association. Scouting had become an integral part of United Church boys’ work, moving from the margins of the church’s structures to the heart of their boys’ work structure.

Conclusion

The creation of these consultative and promotional structures helped set the tone for the next decade of relationships between Scouting and the Protestant churches in Canada. Some of the tension between churches and Scouting would persist throughout the 1960s, particularly for the United Church.³⁷⁵ Despite this tension, Scouting was able to maintain a relatively peaceful relationship with the churches throughout the decade. The same philosophical underpinning that had drawn religious leaders and lay boys’ workers to similar antimodernist approaches to the “boy problem” in the interwar period continued to draw them together in the postwar atomic age. A 1964 United Church Scouting pamphlet continued to use the muscular Christian argument that

³⁷³ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 111-6, Minutes of the Standing Committee on Junior, Intermediate, and Senior Boys Work, 1960-1965, Recommendation to be sent to the Executive of the Board of Christian Education, Re: Working Basis between the United Church of Canada and the Boy Scouts Association of Canada, n.d. (probably late 1959).

³⁷⁴ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 112-6, Scouting Council – Records, 1961-1968, Minutes of Meeting of Scouting Council of the National Boys’ Work Committee, November 7, 1961, Terms of Reference

³⁷⁵ The United Church strongly opposed, for example, a proposal to open the Religion and Life badge to “unchurched” boys - boys who did not belong to a church but who nonetheless filled the requirements for the award, on the grounds that it effectively bypassed the authority of the church, UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 112-6, Scouting Council, Records, 1961-1968, Minutes of Meeting of Scouting Council of the Standing Committee on Boys’ Work, April 2, 1969, 3.

getting boys out into nature could inspire religious sentiment in boys, “Enjoyment of a scenic spot, study of animal life, discovery of some little-known fact about the order or intricacy of nature, or many similar events can become opportunities to remind the boys of the care and love of God, and of his provision in nature for our needs.”³⁷⁶

Rev. Don W. Clark, associate rector of St. Thomas Anglican Church in Toronto, put Scouting’s utility for churches and society in even bolder terms, unsurprising given the Anglican Church’s consistent support of Scouting in the postwar period. Clark echoed the call of earlier Scout and church leaders like Dan Spry and H.J. Cody in both praising and fretting over the advances of the atomic age and what it meant for the future of boyhood and democracy. “Scouting,” argued Clark, “builds men - not machines. Science and technology and mass production and mass communication both bless and threaten our human race. The blessings are obvious. The threat is that men can become like machines [...] We are trained to be good spectators content to watch but never to play in the game of life.”³⁷⁷ Clark went on to argue that Scouting provided an antidote to the increasing “dependence” of children on community and government institutions in a “pre-planned, carefully programmed society.”³⁷⁸ Most importantly, argued Clark, Scouting’s continued emphasis on outdoor activity could strengthen a boy’s connection to God:

[...] we care about Scouting because it provides a unique opportunity for young people to know the glory of God. In our magnificent cities we are surrounded by great man-made buildings and machines that seem to shout out ‘glory to MAN in the highest’. ‘See what wonders MEN have made.’ Under the stars, around a campfire, or looking out over a lovely lake at sunrise or deep in the forest at noon time, we hear instead ‘glory to GOD in the highest’. ‘ See the wonder and majesty of this glorious world our Father has created’.

³⁷⁶ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 114-8, Christian Education and Scouting, pamphlets, 1949-1964, Christian Education and Scouting: A Manual for Churches Sponsoring Scouting the United Church of Canada (Toronto: Board of Christian Education, United Church of Canada, 1964), 65.

³⁷⁷ UCCA, Board of Christian Education, 83.051C, Box 115-2, Scouting: Church Relationships Conference, 1965-1968, Scouting in the Churches, December 1966, “Why We Use Scouting,” 7.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 8.

We Church Leaders care about Scouting because we care about God's children, and we care about the future.³⁷⁹

Scouting served a valuable function in the eyes of church leaders. Church sponsorship of Scout groups is another indicator of the relative health of the relationship between Scouting and the Churches in the 1960s, or at least that no major fissure succeeded in pulling churches or the Scout Association out of their existing relationship. From 1959 to 1964, Church sponsorship grew modestly from 60% to 62% of the total Scout sponsorship in Canada.³⁸⁰

Scout officials could also read the demographic tea leaves. Throughout the late 1950s and into the 1960s they kept careful tabs of not just the membership numbers, but of their growth relative to the eligible Cub and Scout-aged boy population. By the mid-1960s they were aware that, in spite of growing membership totals, the movement continued to struggle to boost its membership as a percentage of the overall boy population and that the maturation of the baby boom would inevitably create a smaller pool of boys to draw from.³⁸¹ Church sponsorship also began a slow decline in the late 1960s, dipping below 60% of the overall Scout membership for the first time in over a decade in 1968.³⁸² Even as the boys of the baby boom were still moving through the ranks of Scouting in the mid 1960s, the movement's national leadership set to work to find new ways to broaden their reach in anticipation of this demographic cliff that they were approaching.³⁸³ This did not mean that they turned away from the churches, but rather that they attempted to find new organizations that might help foster Scouting in previously unreached

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 8.

³⁸⁰ Boy Scouts Association, Canadian General Council, Annual Report, 1959, 11; Boy Scouts Association, Canadian General Council, Annual Report, 1964, 14. By point of comparison, "Community" sponsors, the next largest sponsor of Scout and Cubs, accounted for 15.1% of groups in 1964.

³⁸¹ The Relationships department, for instance, reported its first ever drop in total number of sponsored groups in 1967, a sign of the demographic shift. Boy Scouts Association, Canadian General Council, Annual Report, 1967, 18.

³⁸² Belleville Scout and Guide Museum, "Church Sponsorship in Boy Scouts of Canada as at December 31, 1968," *Scouting in the Churches*, Summer 1969, 8.

³⁸³ The research and relationships department had identified dropping membership and demographics as a concern in 1964, LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 5, Folder 5, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, Minutes, 1964, October 16-17, 1964, Appendix B "Age and Membership Trends."

sectors of the Scout population. In light of these realities, the Relationships and Research departments of the national headquarters debated ways to improve their outreach to new sponsors. They also considered yet another substantive revision to the programme and age categorization for the various stages of the movement.³⁸⁴ Relationships with the churches, however, were not addressed in a significant way.

Another reason for the relative quiet on the church relationships front was that the energy of Scouting's executive was being focused on both a new frontier of growth and an old source of division within the movement. French-Canadian Catholic Scouting, discussed in the previous chapter, underwent changes of its own in the postwar era, ones that challenged existing relationships between the two federations and continued to tie French-Canadian Catholicism to a distinct national community that extended beyond Quebec's borders. The effort to bring French-Canadian Catholic boys into the fold of the Fédération proved to be one of the largest administrative and political challenges the Scout Association faced in the postwar years, challenging their vision of how Scouting could build better Canadian boys.

³⁸⁴ As early as 1963, for instance, new age categories were proposed, which included a new program (what would become Venturers in 1968-1969) for 14-17 year olds as early as 1963, LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 5, Folder 6, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, Minutes, 1963, October 25-26, 1963, 16.

Chapter Three: “Un geste de solidarité catholique et canadienne-française”:

French-Canadian Scouting Beyond Quebec, 1935-1969

In October of 1960, some twenty-five years after the creation of La Fédération des Scouts Catholiques de la Province de Québec, lay and religious representatives of French-Canadian Scouting in the West, Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes gathered in Ottawa to discuss the creation of a new French-Canadian Catholic Scout Association. The delegates laid the groundwork for an association that would include French-Canadian and Acadian Scouts from coast to coast. This, at a time when French-Canadian nationalism in Quebec was undergoing significant changes; years of political and nationalist reorientation in Quebec had been channeled into the election of Jean Lesage’s Liberals to the Quebec National Assembly only a few months earlier. While French-Canadian nationalism and identity were fundamentally reoriented by Quebec’s Quiet Revolution, it did not disappear and still held significant drawing power for many in and out of Quebec. The creation of Les Scouts Catholiques du Canada (Les Scouts) was one expression of this ongoing willingness to sustain pan-Canadian French-Canadian institutions.

This chapter explores a series of efforts to reconnect French-speaking boys across the country in a united French-Canadian Catholic Scout movement. The efforts leading to the creation of Les Scouts occurred against a broader backdrop of significant social and political change, particularly in Quebec. French-Canadian nationalists in the province had moved to a more territorially-defined sense of nationhood throughout the 1950s and 60s which, some scholars have argued, triggered a “rupture” in French-Canadian identity. This rupture, they argue, was the result of French-Canadian nationalists in Quebec prioritizing the institutions and provincial government of Quebec as the best tools available to protect francophone culture at the

expense of a continental view of French-Canadian identity pinned to a shared language, faith and heritage. Historians who interpret the 1960s as a turning point in the shift from “canadien-français” identity to “Québécois”, argue that the period following the Great War marked the greatest period of solidarity amongst nationalist francophone leaders in Quebec and the rest of Canada, particularly Ontario.³⁸⁵ Other scholars, however, have contended that a shared French-Canadian identity never existed in real terms, or that the first social, economic, and intellectual cracks in this identity appeared much earlier—as early as the First World War.³⁸⁶

The creation of a territorially-defined Scouting movement in Quebec in 1935 preceded the rise of this more territorial nationalism, coinciding with a period of supposed solidarity and institution building across French Canada. Conversely, the postwar debate about expanding the movement to renew ties with French-speaking Catholic communities outside of Quebec, culminating at a time of supposed “rupture” in French-Canadian institutional networks and identities, also challenges the existing scholarship. French-Canadian identity, though challenged by important shifts in French-Canadian nationalism in Quebec in the 1950s and 1960s, continued to hold value for many French Canadians across the country. What this common identity and outlook meant was contingent on a variety of shifting regional, religious and political factors. Rather than telling a declensionist narrative of the “rupture,” of French Canada, this chapter

³⁸⁵ See, for instance, Pierre Savard, “Relations avec le Québec,” in *Les Franco-Ontariens*, ed. Cornelius J. Jaenen (Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa), 232-235; Marcel Martel, *Deuil d'un pays imaginé*, 33-34; Gaétan Gervais, *Des gens de résolution: Le passage du 'Canada français' à l' 'Ontario français'* (Sudbury: Institut franco-ontarien, 2003), 21; Michel Bock, *Quand la nation débordait les frontières: Les minorités françaises dans la pensée de Lionel Groulx* (Montréal: Éditions Hurtubise HMH, 2004), 244-256.

³⁸⁶ Yves Frenette, *Brève histoire des Canadiens français* (Montréal: Boréal, 1998) ; Gratien Allaire, “Le Triangle canadien-français au tournant des années 1960. Le Conseil de la vie française en Amérique, la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal et l'Ordre de Jacques-Cartier,” *Francophonies d'Amérique* Printemps, no. 17 (2004), 108-110; Linda Cardinal, “Le Canada français à la lumière des États généraux : critique de la thèse de la rupture,” in *Les États généraux du Canada français, trente ans après : actes du colloque tenu à l'Université d'Ottawa les 5, 6 et 7 novembre 1997*, eds. Marcel Martel and Robert Choquette (Ottawa: Centre de recherche en civilisation canadienne-française de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1998), 213-232 ; Linda Cardinal, “Sortir de la nostalgie, en finir avec le ressentiment : les francophones hors Québec et la coopération interprovinciale,” in *Briser les solitudes : les francophonies canadiennes et québécoise*, eds. Simon Langlois and Jean-Louis Roy (Québec : Éditions Nota bene, 2003), 15-30.

argues that French-Canadian identity and institutional solidarity followed a much less-linear path and was contingent on a variety of shifting regional, religious and political factors that transcend a “rupture” based narrative.

The impetus for the creation of Les Scouts came from outside Quebec. In the postwar years, religious and lay leaders in French-Canadian communities such as Ottawa, Saint-Boniface, Timmins and Moncton attempted to harness Scouting as a means of keeping boys connected to an educational setting which could instill the ideals of French-Canadian Catholicism and nationalism at an early age. Though these were not the only regions outside of Quebec with French-language Scouting, they were key centres, both in terms of demographic weight and activism. As will be shown here, the drive to create Les Scouts was the product of ecclesiastical enthusiasm, lay support and a continuous reshaping and re-negotiating of the relationship between French-Canadian and English-Canadian Scout leaders in the postwar era. For French-Canadian and Acadian Scout leaders, being able to connect with the Quebec Scout movement was important on both a symbolic and practical level; the Fédération’s programme material, uniform and insignia were certainly important manifestations of the distinctiveness of French-Canadian Scouting, but many Francophone Scout leaders outside Quebec also sought to renew and reinvigorate French-Canadian institutional national life through a French-Canadian organization that could extend beyond Quebec’s borders.

Boy Scout Association leaders were aware of the significant changes happening in French Canada during this period, but were divided on how to approach it. As Jose Igartua has pointed out, English Canadians were going through a Quiet Revolution of their own in the 1950s and 1960s. This shift from a British-oriented nationalism to a more civic, rights-based identity was fostered by actions like patriating institutions like the Supreme Court, developing a

distinctive national flag and attempting to renew federalism in light of Quebec's shifting federal position.³⁸⁷ C.P. Champion, however, recasts these same events to argue that “Britishness” continued to shape the very actors who sought to disconnect Canada and Canadians from their British past.³⁸⁸ The Boy Scout Association leadership reflected some of the same middle class and elite interests noted in both Champion’s and Igartua’s studies - Scout executives ranged from former military officers to high-ranking RCMP leaders and financial leaders. Their take on Canadian unity, and its reflection within the Scout movement reveal a heated debate over how to adapt to a changing federal landscape and changing attitudes towards French-speaking Canadians and Quebec nationalism. Scout executive leaders like Dan Spry, Leonard Nicholson, James Harvey and Don Thompson all moved to a more accommodating vision of French-Canadian aspirations than some of their provincial colleagues who stubbornly refused to allow the existing bifurcated structure of Scouting to be expanded beyond Quebec’s borders, fearing that further division of the movement would threaten Scouting’s leading status as a national youth movement.

This chapter will first briefly discuss the context of French-language Scouting outside of Quebec in the post-1935 agreement period until the early 1950s. It will then move into an analysis of the push by French-Canadian religious and lay leaders to recast the 1935 Agreement throughout the 1950s, which led to the creation of Les Scouts Catholiques du Canada in 1960. The creation of Les Scouts led to tensions with Boy Scout leaders in the Boy Scout Association. An examination of the negotiations to realign Canadian Scouting relations in time for Canada’s centennial will conclude the chapter.

³⁸⁷ José Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-71* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006).

³⁸⁸ C.P. Champion, *The Strange Demise of British Canada: The Liberals and Canadian Nationalism, 1964-1968* (McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010).

“Relégué dans l’ombre”: French-Canadian Scouting After the 1935 Agreement

French-Canadian Scout troops in Ontario, New Brunswick and Manitoba had their connections to Quebec Scouting officially severed in 1935. Some continued to maintain informal ties with their colleagues in La Fédération; others tried to make do by operating in French under the rubric of the Boy Scout Association. French-Canadian Scouting in Ottawa (and Ontario more broadly), New Brunswick, and the Canadian West operated in relative isolation in the years following the agreement. Beyond the larger French-Canadian communities in Ontario, the Maritimes or Saint-Boniface, Manitoba, French-Canadian Scout troops in smaller centres such as Gravelbourg and Prud’homme Saskatchewan, Edmonton, Alberta and Maillardville, British Columbia were all barred from joining La Fédération prior to the creation of Les Scouts.³⁸⁹

French-Canadian Scouting in the Ottawa Valley had been at the heart of early efforts to mobilize a distinctively French-Canadian Scout movement.³⁹⁰ The agreement which created La Fédération also forced French-Canadian Scout leaders along the Ottawa River to consolidate their own Diocesan Council within the existing Boy Scout Association structure. This new reality did not sit well with Scout leaders in the area; French-Canadian Scout officials in Hull, which was then part of the Ottawa archdiocese, made requests to join La Fédération as early as 1938 after numerous spats over uniform and other issues.³⁹¹ The executive of La Fédération handled the request gingerly, as they had already received an inquiry from Haileybury, Ontario

³⁸⁹ Archives de la Société Historique de Saint-Boniface (ASHSB), Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Manitoba - correspondance générale (1), Mémoire sur le scoutisme à Saint-Boniface, de 1932 à 1953 préparé pour Msgr. Maurice Baudoux, 15 avril, 1953, 2. See also Claire Bernier, *Histoire du scoutisme et guidisme francophones en Alberta* (Edmonton: Les Éditions Duval, 1995); Michèle Villegas-Kerlinger, *Sur les traces de nos ancêtres: chronique de l’Amérique du Nord francophone* (Québec: Presses de l’Université du Québec, 2011), 74.

³⁹⁰ See Pigeon, “Providence, nationalisme et obligation sociale,”; Pierre Savard, “Une jeunesse et son Église : les scouts routiers De la Crise à la Révolution tranquille,” *Les Cahiers des Dix*, 53 (1999) : 117-165; Pierre Savard, “L’implantation du scoutisme au Canada français,” *Les Cahiers des Dix* 43 (décembre 1983) : 207-262.

³⁹¹ Bibliothèque et archives nationales du Québec, Montréal (BANQ), Fonds Fédération québécoise du guidisme et du scoutisme, P168-2/1-5, Conseil Fédéral, 1935-1958, Réunion du conseil provincial, 16-17 mars, 1938, 4.

requesting that Scouts there come under their jurisdiction. Their initial decision to support the efforts of Hull Scouts to join La Fédération was tempered by the cautious reminder about relations with French-Canadian troops in other provinces, “on devra user d'une grande prudence et d'une entière circonspection dans les relations de la Fédération avec ces groupements, pour ne pas faire naître de malentendus et froisser les susceptibilités religieuses ou nationales.”³⁹² This cautious approach reflected a broader reluctance to risk upsetting their relationship with the Boy Scouts - a relationship which also enabled the Quebec association to maintain an important degree of autonomy.

As Émilie Pigeon points out in her research on French-Canadian Scouting in the Ottawa region, the Quebec Episcopacy under Villeneuve remained steadfast in its determination to restrict the activities of La Fédération to the territory of Quebec, in spite of pleas to expand the reach of the association beyond Quebec's borders. This was initially largely motivated by a desire by Catholic leaders like Villeneuve to preserve the integrity of the new, and somewhat fragile, Quebec Federation, but later became a question of protecting the integrity of the Quebec Fédération and not upsetting its relationship with their English-Canadian counterparts.³⁹³ Limiting expansion to dioceses that either straddled the border or neighboured existing dioceses was thus the extent of their willingness to entertain thoughts of expansion.

Scouts in the Hull region of the Ottawa archdiocese secured affiliation with La Fédération in 1943. The addition of new leadership in La Fédération's executive, particularly the well-known nationalist economist Esdras Minville, provided a more overtly nationalist tone to La Fédération's outlook in the latter years of the war and into the postwar period. In Ottawa, meanwhile, the promotion of Paul McNicoll to the position of Diocesan Commissioner for the

³⁹² Ibid., 4.

³⁹³ Pigeon, “Providence, nationalisme et obligation sociale,” 72-74.

Ottawa French-Canadian Scout movement triggered a significant shift in strategy at the local level. McNicoll led a movement to separate all French-Canadian Catholic Scouts in Ottawa from the Boy Scout Association.³⁹⁴ Pigeon's study of the split of the Ottawa French-Canadian Catholic Scouts from the Boy Scout Association into a briefly independent Scout Association from 1946-1948 (at which point both it and the diocese of Pembroke - which also straddled the Quebec-Ontario border - joined La Fédération) convincingly links this aggressive move to the influence of the Ordre de Jacques Cartier (OJC), a French-Canadian Catholic nationalist secret society founded in the 1920s in Ottawa.³⁹⁵ Many of the key players during this "break-away" episode were active members of the OJC; McNicoll was a long-standing member of the OJC in Ottawa, as were Esdras Minville at the head of La Fédération and Ottawa Archbishop Msgr. Vachon.³⁹⁶

Pigeon does not, however, consider similarly important changes within the Boy Scout Association. The November 1945 request from French-Canadian Catholic Scout leaders in Ottawa to create a fully independent French-Canadian Catholic Scout council came at a time of transition for the Boy Scout Association. The existing executive rejected the request, arguing "it could not grant these privileges," without disrupting other French-Canadian troops and groups around the country.³⁹⁷ Within the next few years, however, many members of the national executive retired, part of a broader postwar generational change. The appointment of Major-General Dan Spry to the position of Chief Executive Commissioner in April of 1946 represented

³⁹⁴ The French-Canadian Catholic Scout movement had established a Diocesan Commissioner with ties to the Boy Scout Association in 1938, Pigeon, "Providence, nationalisme et obligation sociale," 60-70. Pigeon also highlights the role of Ottawa archbishop Msgr. Alexandre Vachon, who suggested that French-Canadian Scouts should separate and seek independent incorporation. McNicoll resisted the incorporation strategy, preferring to seek alignment with La Fédération.

³⁹⁵ Denise Robillard, *L'Ordre de Jacques Cartier : une société secrète pour les Canadiens-français catholiques, 1926-1965* (Montréal: Fides, 2009); James Trepanier, "Battling a Trojan Horse: The Ordre de Jacques Cartier and the Knights of Columbus, 1917-1965." (MA Thesis, University of Ottawa, 2007).

³⁹⁶ Pigeon, "Providence, nationalisme et obligation sociale," 99-104.

³⁹⁷ LAC, BSC, C-13939, Dominion Executive Board Meeting Minutes, 1945, November 21, 1945, 4.

a significant rejuvenation in the association's leadership. Spry referred frequently to his war experience and hope for postwar society in his early speeches as Commissioner. His vision for Scouting was to act as a complement to the church, home and school. He also saw Scouting as an agent for promoting national unity. In a speech to the Empire Club of Toronto in January of 1947, Spry described his vision of Scouting as seeking "to develop in the boys good character, not for its own sake but character with a purpose - the purpose - good citizenship."³⁹⁸ This "good citizenship" through Scouting would, he argued, overcome "traditional 'fences' which have been erected over the years among various regions, denominations and races," in Canada.³⁹⁹ He contended that the war provided ample evidence of the capacity to overcome regional and linguistic differences in the face of a common objective, "I suggest to you that Scouting, because of its common purpose and community of interest can do much for Canada by assisting in the development of this grand spirit among the youth of today - the men of tomorrow, so that one day Canada will attain that full greatness which she so richly deserves."⁴⁰⁰

Spry's response to the break-away Ottawa group was conditioned by this postwar optimism. He quickly set to work to try and mediate the situation, while also proposing that the national headquarters hire more French-speaking staff as an immediate step to alleviate concerns about service to French-Canadian troops.⁴⁰¹ After further meetings with representatives from La Fédération, including Commissioner Esdras Minville, Spry reversed the Boy Scout Association's stand on the Ottawa Scouts by recommending that French-Canadian Scouts in dioceses

³⁹⁸ Major-General D.C. Spry, "The Broader Aspects of Scouting a speech to the Empire Club of Toronto, January 23, 1947," <http://speeches.empireclub.org/59951/data?n=1> (accessed November 26, 2014).

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ LAC, BSC, C-13939, Dominion Executive Board Meeting Minutes, 1946, October 2, 1946, 4.

straddling the Ontario-Quebec border be permitted to join La Fédération.⁴⁰² Spry regretted the very existence of two Scouting organizations, desiring instead “one Scout Movement in Canada, healthy and strong enough to assist in breaking down the barriers between creeds, classes and regions,” but then conceded that it would be best to grant the Ottawa Scouts their wish to join La Fédération because they seemed determined move ahead and “some Scouting was better than none.”⁴⁰³

The Ottawa “break away” group was only the first of a series of controversies triggered by debates over the relationship between the Boy Scouts, La Fédération and French-Canadian Scout groups outside of Quebec. The diocese of Timmins, for instance, also straddled the border between Ontario and Quebec. Discussions to have its Scout and Cub groups affiliate with La Fédération hit a road block, however, when the Ontario Provincial Council of the Scout Association insisted on investigating the matter itself and then opposed the move. Frank Irwin, the Executive Commissioner for Ontario, noted that Ontario had “reluctantly agreed” to the Ottawa-Pembroke compromise, but drew a line at Timmins, insisting that the Ontario council’s concerns be heard.⁴⁰⁴ The Ottawa Scouts were not alone in demanding a revision of the 1935 agreement. The Ottawa “break away” movement may have been dramatic, but it was part of a broader pattern of persistent efforts to renew previous links between French-Canadian Scouting outside Quebec and existing Scout networks and associations in *la belle province*. These efforts date back to the months immediately after the agreement which created La Fédération in 1935.

⁴⁰² LAC, BSC, C-13939, Dominion Executive Board Meeting Minutes, 1946, December 12, 1946, 5. Spry initially proposed this in three dioceses: Ottawa, Pembroke and Cornwall. Upon learning of an error about Cornwall’s diocesan territory, the diocese of Timmins was considered, as will be shown later.

⁴⁰³ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 36, Vol. 9, French Catholic Scouting, 1947, Dan Spry, Memorandum, April 29 1947, 3.

⁴⁰⁴ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 36, File 10, French Catholic Scouting, 1948, Frank Irwin to Spry, February 20, 1948.

French-Canadian Scouting in New Brunswick

New Brunswick's Acadian Catholic Scouting predated the creation of La Fédération. French-language troops had been operating in the province as early as 1933-1934.⁴⁰⁵ Acadian troops appear to have been uncertain about their place in Canadian Scouting, as some troops chose to affiliate with the Boy Scouts while others sought affiliation with les Éclaireurs or La Fédération. The confusion caused concern on both sides, as clergy and Scout officials worked out compromises on translated documents and local control, while others decided to work informally with their Quebec colleagues.⁴⁰⁶ The 1930s were also a period of important structural changes to the Catholic Church in New Brunswick, as a new archdiocese was created in Moncton in 1936 and the diocese of Chatham moved its episcopal seat to Bathurst. Historians Nicolas Landry and Nicole Lang have qualified this period of growing influence for Acadians in the Catholic hierarchy as the "acadianisation de l'Église."⁴⁰⁷ The creation of the archdiocese of Moncton provided a unique connection between French-language Scouting communities as Msgr. Arthur Melanson, the first Archbishop of Moncton, had served as the bishop of Gravelbourg in Saskatchewan prior to his appointment. Melanson received the news of the 1935 Fédération agreement during a meeting attended by a young priest by the name of Maurice Baudoux. Twenty-five years after the fact, Baudoux recalled "l'immense douleur de l'Évêque de Gravelbourg, lorsqu'il apprit que l'Accord avait été signé, excluant les provinces minoritaires malgré la promesse formelle du Cardinal Villeneuve, qu'elles seraient protégées. J'étais justement là, ce jour-là, et je vis les larmes couler abondamment des yeux de Son Excellence Msgr.

⁴⁰⁵ Maurice Melanson "Le mouvement scout dans le diocèse de Moncton," *Sur l'empire: La Gazette de la Société historique de la mer rouge* Vol. 2 no.4 (1989), 49-50.

⁴⁰⁶ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 36, File 4, French Catholic Scouting, 1934 Louise A. Olive to Stiles, 26 June, 1934; Stiles to Olive, 27 June, 1934; Patrice-Alexandre Chiasson to Stiles, October 19, 1935.

⁴⁰⁷ Nicolas Landry and Nicole Lang, *Histoire de l'Acadie* (Sillery, Québec : Septentrion, 2001), 247-250.

Melanson.”⁴⁰⁸ Melanson did not, however, accept this new reality easily. He, and other supporters of Scouting in Manitoba, requested that both associations reconsider the policy which was met with “un refus catégorique.”⁴⁰⁹

Melanson carried this bitter experience with him to Moncton, where he took up the Archbishopric in 1937. There he joined a coalition of English and French Catholic bishops (Chatham, Moncton and Saint John) that requested the creation of French and English speaking Catholic divisions within Scouting in the province.⁴¹⁰ Mindful of his experience on the Prairies, Melanson and other Scout leaders in the province worked within the provincial Boy Scout Association of New Brunswick to create space for English and French-speaking Catholic Scouts throughout the 1930s and 1940s.⁴¹¹ This strategy of working within existing Boy Scout Association structures in the province continued into the early 1950s, when Acadian chaplains in the movement expressed concern over the lack of coordination of the movement between Catholic dioceses in New Brunswick. They suggested an inter-diocesan committee to help coordinate French-language Catholic Scouting and to represent Acadian interests vis-à-vis the Boy Scout Association.⁴¹² The suggestion appears to have gained little traction as the archives are mute on the request, but it symbolizes the continued attempt to adapt within the structure of the Boy Scouts in the province.

⁴⁰⁸ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, Série Baudoux, 0075, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Canada - Conseil Canadien des scouts et guides catholiques (2), Notes sur les relations de la Fédération avec l'épiscopat du Québec, de l'Ouest canadien et le sous-comité 'Relationships' du Comité exécutif du Conseil général du Scoutisme canadien au sujet du statut des groupes catholiques d'expression française hors du territoire actuel de la Fédération, 24 mars, 1960 - Appendix 13, Baudoux to Renaud, February 1, 1960.

⁴⁰⁹ ASHSB, Association des Scouts du Canada; District de la Rivière-Rouge, Fonds 0073, Box 1201, File 207, Correspondance de l'abbé Félicien Juneau, 1963-1965, Clipping in *Écho Scout*, 15 mars, 1965, “Un peu d'histoire,” 4.

⁴¹⁰ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 7, Folder 2, Executive Board of Canadian General Council meetings, 1937, September 27, 1937, 12.

⁴¹¹ Maurice Melanson “Le mouvement scout dans le diocèse de Moncton,” *Sur l'empire: La Gazette de la Société historique de la mer rouge* Vol. 2 no.4 (1989), 51-52.

⁴¹² Centre d'études acadiennes Anselme-Chiasson (CEEAC), L'Association des scouts catholiques du Canada - District de Moncton, Fonds 71.39 – Aumôniers – Documents, 1953-1964, Voeux des aumôniers scouts réunis en journées d'études à l'Université Saint-Joseph, 21-26 juin, 1953.

Manitoba

Another key centre of French-Canadian Scouting outside of Quebec was the province of Manitoba, more specifically the archdiocese of Saint-Boniface. As in New Brunswick, French-Canadian Scouting got its start in the province in the 1930s. Father Émilien Lévesque founded the first French-Canadian Scout troop in the province in 1932 at the École Provencher in Saint-Boniface.⁴¹³ Lévesque had studied Scouting during his time at the Grand Séminaire de Québec and maintained a connection with Scout leaders in the province, ordering uniforms and badges from the Éclaireurs canadien-français.⁴¹⁴ This early contact extended throughout the years leading up to the creation of the new Fédération in 1935.⁴¹⁵ Successive archbishops in Saint-Boniface supported French-Canadian Scouting in the hopes of reaching out to more boys in the community. Msgr. Émile Yelle gave the Scout movement his ecclesiastical approval by declaring it an approved Catholic Action movement for boys in the mid-1930s.⁴¹⁶ Msgr. Georges Cabana, serving as coadjutor Bishop in Saint-Boniface after Msgr. Yelle fell ill, continued to lobby to bring the Saint-Boniface French-Canadian Catholic Scouts more closely in line with La Fédération. In May of 1939, for instance, his request for permission to use La Fédération badges triggered an exchange between representatives of La Fédération and the Boy Scouts. The two associations continued to seek to avoid confrontation, agreeing to put the matter to a special

⁴¹³ ASHSB, Association des Scouts du Canada; District de la Rivière-Rouge, 0073, Box 1195, File 001, Historiques du scoutisme au Manitoba, 1964-1977, Scoutisme au Manitoba (Association des Scouts du Canada; District de la Rivière Rouge, 1976), 1.

⁴¹⁴ ASHSB, Association des Scouts du Canada; District de la Rivière-Rouge, Fonds 0073, Box 1199, File 158, Correspondance, 1932, Representatives from Le magasin des Éclaireurs canadien-français to Father Lévesque, October 6, 1932.

⁴¹⁵ See, for instance, ASHSB, Association des Scouts du Canada; District de la Rivière-Rouge, Fonds 0073, Box 1199, File 159, Correspondance, 1933, Georges-Henri Sainte-Marie to Alfred Pelissier, March 5, 1933.

⁴¹⁶ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Box 20, File 1, PRO-SCO, Scouts Manitoba - correspondance générale, Mémoire sur le scoutisme à Saint-Boniface, de 1932 à 1953 préparé pour Msgr. Maurice Baudoux, 15 avril, 1953, 3.

committee to discuss.⁴¹⁷ A few years later, a frustrated Cabana wrote directly to La Fédération seeking advice on how to bring the French-Canadian Catholic Scouts of his diocese into La Fédération's fold.⁴¹⁸ Anxious to avoid conflict with the Scout Association, they urged Cabana to take a cautious - and discreet - approach in Manitoba:

Après échange de vues sur le sujet, on décide de lui faire savoir - sans caractère de mesure officielle - que le mieux serait que les scouts catholiques du diocèse de St.-Boniface s'organisent comme groupe distinct et qu'ils traitent avec la Fédération pour les services dont ils auraient besoin, et cela sans caractère officiel de relation.⁴¹⁹

French-Canadian Scouts in Saint-Boniface thus remained in a liminal state, separate from both La Fédération and the Boy Scout Association. Msgr. Cabana persisted in his quest to have French-Canadian Scouts under his care join La Fédération, however. He made another such unsuccessful request to the executive of La Fédération in the fall of 1949.⁴²⁰

Msgr. Cabana's successor, Maurice Baudoux, looms large in the history of French-Canadian communities in Western Canada in the twentieth century. Baudoux had worked in various parishes across the Prairies early in his career, had advocated for French-language radio and worked within a number of French-Canadian associations prior to being appointed adjutant-bishop to Saint-Boniface in 1952 and Archbishop in 1954.⁴²¹ He nursed bitter memories of the creation of the Fédération in 1935. He argued later that the 1935 agreement was a lasting, bitter memory, "Je ne l'ai jamais oublié. C'est sans doute pourquoi, alors et depuis, j'ai refusé d'en subir les conséquences."⁴²² When Baudoux inherited responsibility for overseeing Scouting in Saint-

⁴¹⁷ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 7, Folder 4, Executive Board of Canadian General Council meetings, 1939, Meeting of May 3, 1939.

⁴¹⁸ BANQ, Fédération québécoise du guidisme et du scoutisme, P168-2/1-4, Conseil Provincial de la Fédération, 1941-1951, Procès-verbal, 3 décembre, 1941, 4.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 4.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., 5.

⁴²¹ Denise Robillard, *Maurice Baudoux 1902-1988. Une grande figure de l'Église et de la société dans l'Ouest canadien* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2009); Martel, *Le deuil d'un pays imaginé*, 50-54.

⁴²² ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, Série Baudoux, 0075, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Canada - Conseil Canadien des scouts et guides catholiques (2), Notes sur les relations de la Fédération avec l'épiscopat du Québec, de l'Ouest canadien et le sous-comité 'Relationships' du Comité exécutif du

Boniface he was immediately briefed on Scouting by the diocesan Chaplain, David Roy. Roy provided a brief overview of the relationship between French-Canadian Scouting and the Provincial Boy Association and suggested that Baudoux speak with his Quebec colleagues about the issue during an upcoming trip to Quebec. He argued that the 1935 agreement between Cardinal Villeneuve and the Boy Scout Association hit all Western-Canadian French-Canadian communities hard, because their boys “étaient par le fait même séparés de leurs frères du Québec, ‘rélégués (sic) dans l'ombre’.”⁴²³ He also described the deliberately independent stance taken by local Scout leaders since 1935:

*Comme question de fait, et ceci est important dans la jurisprudence anglaise, nous n'avons jamais accepté la tutelle de la Boy Scouts Association, et nous avons toujours porté l'uniforme, utilisé les manuels, passé les épreuves, les brevets, et porté les insignes de la Fédération des Scouts Catholiques de la Province de Québec, au su et au vu des membres du Conseil Provincial de la Boy Scouts.*⁴²⁴

Roy warned that joining the Provincial Scout Association would pose a double danger for French-Canadian boys of the diocese, “Nos jeunes, encore à l'âge de formation prendrait (sic) vite le tour de ne parler que l'anglais, et que les contacts amicaux trop fréquents les empêcheraient de rester ce qu'ils doivent être au point de vue religieux.”⁴²⁵

Baudoux did not need much convincing to pick up where his predecessors had left off. He used both his clerical and nationalist connections to lobby episcopal authorities such as Cardinal Paul-Émile Léger to advocate on their behalf.⁴²⁶ In an April letter to Léger, for instance, Baudoux argued that he and other French-Canadian bishops west of Ontario “désirons

Conseil général du Scoutisme canadien au sujet du statut des groupes catholiques d'expression française hors du territoire actuel de la Fédération, 24 mars, 1960 - Appendix 13, Baudoux to Renaud, February 1, 1960.

⁴²³ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Manitoba - correspondance générale (1), Mémoire sur le scoutisme à Saint-Boniface, de 1932 à 1953 préparé pour Msgr. Maurice Baudoux, April 15, 1953, 2.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 3. Emphasis in the original.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 10.

⁴²⁶ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Canada - Conseil Canadien des scouts et guides catholiques (1), Baudoux to Léger, February 26, 1953

ardemment que nos scouts catholiques puissent s'unir juridiquement à ceux de la province de Québec [...] La Fédération nous a demandé de patienter. Mais nous sommes las d'attendre! Et nous osons espérer que Votre Éminence daignera prendre notre cause en mains."⁴²⁷ Léger passed Baudoux's letter to La Fédération, which used its urgency to renew an earlier request of the Quebec episcopacy to consider a revision to the 1935 agreement allowing French-Canadian groups outside of Quebec to join the Fédération.⁴²⁸

Baudoux's push to affiliate with La Fédération also caught the attention of the Manitoba Provincial Scout Council, which had been seeking unsuccessfully to bring the Saint-Boniface Scouts under their wing since the 1930s. Evan McCormick, a member of the Manitoba provincial executive, wrote Jean Tellier, Executive Commissioner of La Fédération, to argue against the Saint-Boniface Scouts affiliating with La Fédération. He posited that there was little religious need for a separate organization in the country, and argued that even the bilingual argument would only further isolate French-Canadian boys:

We are a bi-lingual (sic) country and I firmly believe it would be a national tragedy if the influence of our French-Canadian heritage were to weaken or lessen. I should like to see it develop to the point where we should become, in fact, a truly bi-lingual country. That will never be achieved so long as "Canadians" huddle in isolation but only when they feel sufficiently strong in their beliefs to meet and mingle freely with their fellow Canadians, secure in the knowledge that the strength of their beliefs and the strength of their culture will attract others to them and that the mingling will not be to their detriment.⁴²⁹

McCormick and other Scout executives in Ontario were reluctant to change the existing structure, though they continued to discuss alternatives with French-Canadian Scout leaders and with La Fédération. These ongoing negotiations between the Boy Scout Association, La

⁴²⁷ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Canada - Conseil Canadien des scouts et guides catholiques (1), Baudoux to Léger, April 23 1953.

⁴²⁸ BANQ, Fonds Fédération québécoise du guidisme et du scoutisme, P168-2/2-3, Comité exécutif de la fédération. Procès verbaux, 1952-1954, Mémoire présenté à l'assemblée de l'épiscopat de la province de Québec par la Fédération des Scouts Catholiques, October 9, 1953.

⁴²⁹ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Manitoba - correspondance générale (1), McCormick to Tellier, December 14, 1954, 1.

Fédération and French-Canadian bishops, most particularly Baudoux, moved in fits and starts from 1954 to 1957. A number of proposals failed to pass muster with the many concerned parties: the two national associations, the provincial council executives, or the French-Canadian bishops involved in the negotiations.⁴³⁰ Baudoux, exasperated with the lack of progress, resubmitted a formal request to have Saint-Boniface Scouts join La Fédération in December, 1956. He also threatened to take the issue to Scout Headquarters in London if the issue were not soon resolved.⁴³¹ The executive of La Fédération was also exasperated with the impasse in negotiations. In a background briefing note, La Fédération argued that it had stuck to the terms of the 1935 agreement. It was to be expected, they felt, that French-Canadians outside the province would seek to connect with their Quebec colleagues. This solidarity, they argued, was a fundamental aspect of Canadian society:

Les pères de la confédération canadienne se sont soumis à ce fait créé (sic?) par l'histoire et ont voulu unir nos deux groupes ethniques, dans le respect mutuel de leurs particularités respectives, pour fonder la nation canadienne. Il paraît donc logique et conforme à ce fait historique que notre scoutisme canadien, auquel est demandé de former les futurs citoyens, respecte les légitimes aspirations de chaque groupe ethnique.⁴³²

La Fédération's patience was evidently in short supply, as the executive council passed a resolution soon afterwards calling on Msgr. Roy to start the process of seeking a new legal charter for La Fédération which would allow it to absorb French-Canadian troops outside of the province, with or without the consent of the Boy Scout Association. This, they argued, was the

⁴³⁰ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Canada - Conseil Canadien des scouts et guides catholiques (2), Notes sur les relations de la Fédération avec l'épiscopat du Québec, de l'Ouest canadien et le sous-comité 'Relationships' du Comité exécutif du Conseil général du Scoutisme canadien au sujet du statut des groupes catholiques d'expression française hors du territoire actuel de la Fédération, 24 mars, 1960.

⁴³¹ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Manitoba - correspondance générale (1), Baudoux to Olier Renaud (Président de la Fédération), December 10, 1956.

⁴³² ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Manitoba - correspondance générale (1), Mémoire pouvant servir de base aux pourparlers engagés, January 3, 1957, 2.

result of failed negotiations with the Scout Association, negotiations they characterized as “un échec complet.”⁴³³

Acting “en bloc”: the creation of Les Scouts Catholiques du Canada

Frustrated with the lack of progress in negotiations, Bishops Baudoux, Henri Routhier of Grouard, Alberta, Philippe Lussier of Saint-Paul, Alberta, Léo Blais of Prince-Albert, Saskatchewan and Aimé Decosse of Gravelbourg met with representatives of La Fédération and Msgr. Roy in Montreal on May 2, 1957.⁴³⁴ Msgr. Roy provided the bishops with a brief summary of the stalled state of discussions he had held with representatives of the Boy Scout Association. He also noted that Acadian Scouts in New Brunswick had expressed satisfaction with “un scoutisme traduit,” - troops which were affiliated with the Boy Scout Association but used translated materials - and suggested that unanimity amongst French-speaking Scout groups across the country may be difficult to achieve. Baudoux remained adamant that they needed to push ahead regardless: “L'accord de 1935 fut considéré comme une trahison par les groupes scouts hors du Québec. Les autres provinces sont en droit de revendiquer un statut égal à celui du Québec et il serait dangereux d'attendre l'unanimité avant de le faire.”⁴³⁵

The discussion between the bishops and La Fédération centred on possible strategies to break the impasse. Gérard Corbeil, Executive Commissioner for La Fédération, reminded his colleagues that La Fédération wanted to help but was also concerned about protecting its existing autonomy and ability to receive provincial funding from the Quebec government. Any change to the federal structure of Scouting should maintain or enhance this autonomy, he argued. Msgr.

⁴³³ BANQ, Fonds Fédération québécoise du guidisme et du scoutisme, P168-2/2-4, Comité exécutif de la fédération. Procès verbaux, 1954-1957, March 2, 1957, Appendix 1.

⁴³⁴ BANQ, Fonds Fédération québécoise du guidisme et du scoutisme, P168-2/2-4, Comité exécutif de la fédération. Procès verbaux, 1954-1957, 14 juin, 1957, Appendix 1.

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 2.

Roy suggested that the western bishops write the Scout Association “en bloc” with their concerns and request to be heard at the next executive meeting in Toronto, where la Fédération could intervene on their behalf.⁴³⁶ In a jointly-signed letter, the Western-Canadian bishops argued that there was no logical reason for the delay in handling their repeated requests to join with La Fédération:

Ce qui a justifié l'accord de 1935 pour la Province de Québec se vérifie avec tout autant de rigueur en dehors du Québec, particulièrement pour ceux des scouts de n'importe quelle province canadienne dont l'affinité avec ceux du Québec est caractéristique. A tout événement, la position prise en ce cas et pleinement conforme aux vues de l'Église sur le scoutisme, à l'acceptation de ces vues par le Fondateur et à la pratique adoptée en plusieurs pays.⁴³⁷

The letter from Western-Canadian bishops to the Scout Association triggered months of acrimonious discussion. La Fédération and the Scout Association finally reached a new compromise agreement in 1959, one in which French language Scout groups would be allowed to receive training, literature and such from La Fédération, while still being required to register with the relevant Provincial Scout Association and to wear the Scout Association uniform. La Fédération's executive had sought to protect its existing autonomy while negotiating the compromise, and argued that it was the best that could be hoped for in the circumstances:

Le conseil convient que le plan n'est pas parfait, mais dans les circonstances actuelles, cet arrangement s'avère un progrès sensible sur les années passées. Il est à noter que le fait français au Canada est de plus en plus accepté dans les rangs de la B.S.A. [Boy Scout Association] et qu'il y a lieu d'espérer des conditions encore plus favorables pour ces groupements de langue française hors du Québec.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁶ Ibid., 2.

⁴³⁷ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Manitoba - correspondance générale (1), Msgrs. Maurice Baudoux, Henri Routhier (Vicaire apostolique de Grouard, Alberta), Philippe Lussier (Evêque de Saint-Paul, Alberta, Léo Blais (Evêque de Prince-Albert, Sask.) Aimé Décosse (Evêque de Gravelbourg, Sask.) to Rhys Sale, President, Canadian General Council, May 3, 1957

⁴³⁸ BANQ, Fonds Fédération québécoise du guidisme et du scoutisme, P168-2/2-1, Conseil Fédéral, comité exécutif et conseil régional des scouts. Procès verbaux, novembre 1959 à décembre 1963, November 8, 1959, 3-4.

French-Canadian bishops in Ontario and Manitoba balked at the terms of the new agreement, however. Msgr. Maxime Tessier of Timmins, for instance, refused the terms of the proposed agreement, insisting on his right to affiliate - without conditions - with La Fédération.⁴³⁹ Msgr. Baudoux, meanwhile, telegrammed Msgr. Garant in Quebec City to voice his opposition to the new agreement and to recommend that the episcopacy move to create a “confédération catholique” for French-Canadian Scouts.⁴⁴⁰ He also sent a searing letter to Evan McCormick, a member of the Manitoba Scout Association executive, stating curtly, “I do not see any purpose in further discussing these things with you or anyone else.”⁴⁴¹ Finally, Baudoux sent a note to Olier Renaud, President of La Fédération, and Archbishop Roy and Cardinal Léger to inform them that the Saint-Boniface Scouts would carry on independent of the Fédération or of the Scout Association until a suitable new situation (i.e. a new French-Canadian Scout Association) was created.⁴⁴²

Baudoux and Tessier’s aggressive positions were supported by a French-Canadian nationalist network nurtured by the OJC. As mentioned earlier, the OJC had taken an active role in the Ottawa French-Canadian Scouting saga of the 1940s, and had likely kept an active eye on the Scout movement since that time. In the late 1950s and early 1960s the OJC targeted Catholic organizations that operated in Quebec but were tied to English-speaking or American structures

⁴³⁹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 36, File 12, French Catholic Scouting - 1960-1961, Interview with Bishop Maxime Tessier of Timmins, March 31, 1960, 1-2.

⁴⁴⁰ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Canada - Conseil Canadien des scouts et guides catholiques (2), Notes sur les relations de la Fédération avec l’épiscopat du Québec, de l’Ouest canadien et le sous-comité 'Relationships' du Comité exécutif du Conseil général du Scoutisme canadien au sujet du statut des groupes catholiques d’expression française hors du territoire actuel de la Fédération, 24 mars, 1960, Appendix 14, Lettre de nuit, Baudoux to Garant, January 20, 1960.

⁴⁴¹ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Manitoba - correspondance générale (1), Baudoux to McCormick, January 28, 1960.

⁴⁴² ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Canada - Conseil Canadien des scouts et guides catholiques (2), Notes sur les relations de la Fédération avec l’épiscopat du Québec, de l’Ouest canadien et le sous-comité 'Relationships' du Comité exécutif du Conseil général du Scoutisme canadien au sujet du statut des groupes catholiques d’expression française hors du territoire actuel de la Fédération, 24 mars, 1960, Appendix 13, Baudoux to Renaud, February 1, 1960.

such as the Knights of Columbus either by creating similar organizations based entirely in Quebec or by encouraging Quebec chapters of such movements to separate from their English-Canadian or American headquarters.⁴⁴³ The OJC's campaign to push for a new French-Canadian Catholic Scout Association was undoubtedly part of this larger strategy. In a memo to all regional councils, the Chancellory (the OJC's executive council) characterized the 1935 agreement as "un coup de maître en ce qui concernait la province de Québec. La Fédération se trouvait sur un pied d'égalité avec le C.B.S.A. [Canadian Boy Scout Association] et indépendante de celui-ci."⁴⁴⁴ Its weakness, they argued, was in leaving out all French-Canadians and Acadians under the "faux principe de 'la réserve québécoise'."⁴⁴⁵ They proposed lobbying the episcopacy - the only body with the authority to change the 1935 agreement - to create a "confédération canadienne des scouts catholiques, observant naturellement les principes fondamentaux du scoutisme, mais totalement autonome et indépendante de la Canadian Boy Scouts Association, confédération à deux secteurs, eux-mêmes autonomes et indépendante l'un de l'autre: secteur français, secteur anglais."⁴⁴⁶ They noted that the idea of parallel organizations in Canada was not new, but "à combien plus forte raison un tel besoin ne serait-il pas impérieux, tant pour la foi catholique que pour la culture française, dans un mouvement d'enfants et d'adolescents?"⁴⁴⁷

The Quebec episcopacy, meanwhile, was increasingly sympathetic to the requests coming from the Western bishops. Roy wrote Baudoux to reassure him of his support:

Je déplore comme vous le fait qu'on se soit contenté d'un règlement très imparfait il y a 25 ans. Je n'ai évidemment été aucunement mêlé aux négociations qui ont eu lieux en 1935 et je n'ai jamais su exactement depuis pourquoi Son Éminence le Cardinal

⁴⁴³ James Trepanier, "Fraternal Goals or Nationalist Priorities: The Ordre de Jacques Cartier's Campaign Against the Knights of Columbus, 1945-1960," *Quebec Studies* 53 (Spring/Summer 2012): 159-180.

⁴⁴⁴ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Canada - Correspondance (3), Ordre de Jacques Cartier, Mémoire sur le scoutisme, February 17, 1960, 3.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 7-8.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., 7.

Villeneuve, pourtant profondément attaché aux diocèses de l'Ouest, n'a pas réussi à obtenir davantage [...] nous sommes bien décidés à continuer la lutte avec vous.⁴⁴⁸

La Fédération also resolved to support the Western bishops in their refusal to accept the latest compromise solution from the Boy Scout Association and supported the creation of a new Catholic Scout Association.⁴⁴⁹ By May of 1960, this support expressed itself in an official Fédération resolution condemning the failure of repeated efforts at negotiation and resolving “de s’unir aux groupes scouts catholiques des autres provinces, ou de les affilier, ou de les intégrer selon des formes adéquates.”⁴⁵⁰

The Scout Association was aware of the shifts and growing solidarity within the French-Canadian Scouting world; an executive meeting in early May of 1960 was seized by a lengthy discussion of the issue of deteriorating relations with La Fédération. J.B. Ridley, a representative from the Ontario Provincial Council, was furious with continuing clashes with French-Canadian groups and episcopal authorities in the province made worse, he argued, by the “interference in Ontario territory over which they [La Fédération] have absolutely no jurisdiction.” He informed his colleagues that the Ontario Provincial Council had “gone as far as it intends to go,” in negotiating with La Fédération.⁴⁵¹ Another delegate from Alberta argued, “It should be made abundantly clear that there is not nor ever will be the possibility of a second organization in Canada.”⁴⁵² After more exchanges along these lines, Deputy Chief Scout Jackson Dodds

⁴⁴⁸ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Canada - Correspondance (3), Roy to Baudoux, February 19, 1960, 1-2.

⁴⁴⁹ BANQ, Fonds Fédération québécoise du guidisme et du scoutisme, P168-3/3-1, Relations de la Fédération avec l'épiscopat du Québec, de l'ouest canadien et le sous-comité 'Relationships' du comité exécutif du conseil général du scoutisme, 1950-1961, Notes sur les relations de la Fédération avec l'épiscopat du Québec, de l'ouest canadien et le sous-comité 'relationships' du comité exécutif du conseil général du scoutisme canadien au sujet du statut des groupes scouts catholiques d'expression française hors du territoire actuel de la Fédération (Historique (1950-1960), March 24, 1960, 4.

⁴⁵⁰ BANQ, Fonds Fédération québécoise du guidisme et du scoutisme, P168-2/2-4, Comité exécutif de la fédération. Procès verbaux, 1957-1960, May 9, 1960, 2.

⁴⁵¹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73 Vol. 5, Folder 3, Minutes, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, 1960, May 6-7, 1960, 10.

⁴⁵² Ibid., 12.

intervened and suggested that they seek the help of the Governor General, Georges Vanier (who was the honorary Chief Scout) and the Apostolic Delegate to Canada, Msgr. Sebastiano Baggio.⁴⁵³ Vanier took an active interest in the issue, while Baggio was reluctant to intervene, expressing “the desire that unity of Scouting and Guiding be maintained.”⁴⁵⁴ Baggio also met with French-Canadian leaders on the issue; he passed on a similar message about cooperation and unity to Msgr. Baudoux during a private meeting.⁴⁵⁵

With the Quebec episcopacy, La Fédération, and the OJC all in favour of creating a new national Catholic association for Scouts and guides, the only question remaining, it seemed, was how to bring the project to fruition. The OJC’s leadership used its clerical and lay networks to rouse interest in the idea throughout the summer of 1960. OJC Secretary Léopold Allard, for instance, spoke with New Brunswick members of the OJC during the provincial conference of the OJC held in Moncton about “l’importance de faire un front commun pour obtenir une fédération canadienne des scouts catholiques de langue française,” and asked Msgr. Baudoux to use his ecclesiastical connections to do the same.⁴⁵⁶ Whether it was the OJC or Baudoux who succeeded is unclear in the archival record, but it was Msgr. Robichaud of New Brunswick who put the issue of creating a new Catholic Scout and Guide Association on the agenda for the October meeting of the Canadian Catholic Conference.⁴⁵⁷ Msgr. Baudoux steered the discussion

⁴⁵³ Ibid., 13-14.

⁴⁵⁴ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 36, File 12, French Catholic Scouting - 1960-1961, Notes on audience with is Excellency, Msgr. Sebastiano Baggio, Apostolic delegate to Canada, June 19, 1961, 1.

⁴⁵⁵ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Manitoba - correspondance générale (1), Transcription des quelques notes prises lors de mon audience avec Son Exc. Msgr. le Délégué apostolique, à Ottawa, n.d.

⁴⁵⁶ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Manitoba - correspondance générale (2), Léopold Allard to Baudoux, September 13, 1960.

⁴⁵⁷ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Canada - Conseil Canadien des scouts et guides catholiques (1), Bernardin Verville to Baudoux, October 3, 1960. The Canadian Catholic Conference was created in 1943 as a national meeting body for the Church in Canada (and would become the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops. It was divided at the time into a French and English-language section, Robert Choquette, *Canada’s Religions: An Historical Introduction* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2004), 372-373.

of a new Catholic Scout and Guide association for Canada through the French-language committee of the Conference.⁴⁵⁸

English-speaking bishops within the Canadian Catholic Conference received the news of the deliberations of their French-speaking counterparts with confusion. Msgr. John Carley, English-language General Secretary for the Conference, wrote to Baudoux after the meetings to enquire about the proposed new association and what it might mean for Catholic Scouting in Canada. Carley noted that “it is not the mind of the English-speaking Bishops in Canada to withdraw from the Boy Scouts Association,” and asked Baudoux what “further benefits” the French-speaking bishops hoped to gain by creating a separate association.⁴⁵⁹ Baudoux replied with a carefully-worded, but firm letter which argued that French-Canadian Catholic Scouting needed a separate structure throughout the country in order to protect the rights of the church to modify the program as it saw fit. This, he argued, posed no threat to national unity:

It would be well for the BSA [Boy Scout Association] of Canada to understand that Canadian *unity* is not Canadian *uniformity*, that to press unduly for the latter is the surest way of destroying the former, and that higher principles are involved, one of which is freedom. Here again the same words are used with the same connotations as in our current opposition to Catholic schools and, in our Province, to public aid to parochial schools.⁴⁶⁰

Carley’s concern reflected a broader reluctance on the part of English-speaking Catholic bishops to withdraw from the Boy Scout Association; they ultimately did not join their French-language colleagues in the new association.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁵⁸ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Canada - Conseil Canadien des scouts et guides catholiques (1), Notes préliminaires, Le Conseil Canadien des scouts et des guides catholiques, October 19, 1960.

⁴⁵⁹ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Canada - Conseil Canadien des scouts et guides catholiques (2), Carley to Baudoux, November 16, 1960.

⁴⁶⁰ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Canada - Conseil Canadien des scouts et guides catholiques (2), Baudoux to Carley, November 21, 1960, 2.

⁴⁶¹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73 Vol. 6, Folder 2, Minutes, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, 1966, February 4-5, 1966, 14.

Once the French-language bishops had approved the creation of a new association, a body of French-Canadian and Acadian Scout leaders met with a delegation of Catholic bishops in Ottawa to discuss how to set up the new association. Msgr. Baudoux led the discussions once more, proposing an association divided into 4 regions (the West, Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes) which would be tied to a national council.⁴⁶² Representatives from Quebec, Ontario, the West and the Maritimes all signed off on the new agreement, though some expressed some concern with the speed of discussions. The Acadian delegation, composed of Father Clément Cormier and Scout leaders Gilbert Finn and Jean-Charles D'Amour, expressed surprise at the rapid pace of the process, arguing that Maritime Scout leaders might need more time to digest the news and reflect on how they would like to shape the new association.⁴⁶³ As discussions progressed, however, the Acadian delegation endorsed the creation of a new Association, observing that “il nous semblait qu'aux yeux de notre population, la création du Conseil se justifie comme un geste de solidarité catholique et canadienne-française.”⁴⁶⁴

News of the creation of the new association generated mixed reactions. Msgr Cabana, Baudoux's predecessor in Saint-Boniface, sent a personal note congratulating Baudoux, “Maintenant que nous avons obtenu ce pour quoi nous avons lutté longtemps ne lachez pas. On finira par reconnaître nos scouts.”⁴⁶⁵ Leaders of the OJC praised news of the association's creation, “La formation d'un Conseil général canadien des Scouts et Guides catholiques

⁴⁶² ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Canada - Conseil Canadien des scouts et guides catholiques (1), Résolution, Conseil Général des scouts et des guides catholiques, October 21, 1960.

⁴⁶³ CEEAC, Fonds Clément Cormier, 177.1541, Scoutisme, 1960 : Délégué par Msgr Robichaud 1960, Rapport de la première réunion du Conseil Général Canadien des Scouts et des Guides Catholiques, October 24, 1960, 3.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁵ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Manitoba - correspondance générale (2), Msgr. Georges Cabana to Baudoux, November 26, 1960.

représente une grande victoire pour notre groupe ethnique.”⁴⁶⁶ *Le Droit*, meanwhile, noted the positive reception to the news in Northern Ontario, where citing Scout leadership argued that the agreement signified “que tous les scouts canadiens-français, de Terre-Neuve à la Colombie, pourront désormais appartenir à un mouvement catholique et français, utiliser des manuels en langue française, porter un uniforme distinct, bref, cela veut dire que partout au Canada on pourra pratiquer le scoutisme sous une direction distincte.”⁴⁶⁷

French-Canadian unity could be elusive, however, even after the creation of a new association for Catholic Scouts and Guides. The surprised reaction of Acadian delegates at the new association’s inaugural conference portended that the new association would have difficulty overcoming historic and regional differences between French-speaking communities in the country, notwithstanding the new unified body. Quebec members, for instance, worried that their numerical weight in the new association would not be reflected in its governing structures, and that this could only lead to a decline in Quebec’s autonomy, arguing they should not “laisser aller vingt-cinq années d’efforts dans un (sic) nouvelle association si elle n’est pas certaine d’avoir des garanties équivalentes à celles existant au Québec. L’association doit être nationale, sans qu’aucun groupe provincial ou régional ne puisse en prendre le contrôle.”⁴⁶⁸ Paul McNicoll, the indefatigable French-Canadian Scout leader in Ottawa, took exception to this complaint, arguing in a letter to Msgr. Baudoux that, “On ne sait trop s’ils expriment la crainte de perdre un

⁴⁶⁶ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Canada - Conseil Canadien des scouts et guides catholiques (2), Secrétaire de la Chancellerie aux cellules des maritimes, December 1, 1960.

⁴⁶⁷ “Les scouts de Sturgeon sont heureux de cette décision,” *Le Droit*, 19 November, 1960 (found in clippings in ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Canada - Conseil Canadien des scouts et guides catholiques (2)).

⁴⁶⁸ BANQ, Fonds Fédération québécoise du guidisme et du scoutisme, P168-2/2-1, Conseil Fédéral, comité exécutif et conseil régional des scouts. Procès verbaux, novembre 1959 à décembre 1963, 29 avril, 1961, 5.

contrôle ou le désir d'en imposer un.”⁴⁶⁹ While these sorts of tensions did not seriously hinder the creation of Les Scouts in 1961, they did signal that regional differences would continue to shape French-Canadian Scouting notwithstanding the creation of the new association.

The “best possible compromise”: Relations between Les Scouts and the Boy Scouts

The creation of Les Scouts deeply disappointed the Canadian Boy Scout Association’s executive. In addition to expressing their regret, the national executive fired a warning shot towards the new group, notifying them that “we cannot permit the use of our emblems, badges, decorations or titles by any body not affiliated with us.” Further, they signalled their intent to continue to “work towards the full implementation of their policy with respect to French-speaking Scout Groups believing as they do that the cultural and religious aspirations of these boys can be fully met within its framework.”⁴⁷⁰ Les Scouts leaders appear to have paid little heed to this warning. They proposed a new model of affiliation to the Boy Scouts executive in May of 1962.⁴⁷¹ The proposal suggested an executive-level liaison between the two associations, and information-sharing on training and national events, but that operations and authorities be kept separate. It established in principle, if not in fact, two Scout associations which would span the country.⁴⁷²

Various provincial Scout Association representatives expressed their concern with the news in meetings or in writing the Ottawa headquarters, revealing a cross-section of opinion about changing social and political conditions in Canada and Quebec. Ontario’s Provincial

⁴⁶⁹ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Manitoba - correspondance générale (2), McNicoll to Baudoux, July 1, 1961, 2.

⁴⁷⁰ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 5, Folder 4, Minutes, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, 1961, 27-28 January, 1961, Appendix 2, President Rhys Sale to Jean-Marie Poitras, January 31, 1961.

⁴⁷¹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 5, Folder 5, Minutes, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, 1962, May 4-5, 1962, 8.

⁴⁷² LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 36, File 13, French Catholic Scouting - 1962, Minutes of a meeting of the National Organization and Expansion Committee, June 15, 1962, 4.

Council, for instance, argued that the new association “should either operate as part of the Boy Scouts of Canada or forfeit the right to use the name Scout. It is only in this manner that it will be possible to exercise any control over their operations.”⁴⁷³ Dave Morwood, from Calgary, worried that if this new association were to be accepted “why shouldn't the United Church, the Mormans (sic), or any other large body start doing the same thing [?]”⁴⁷⁴ C.J. Dendy, a Scout executive officer from Montreal, took a more conciliatory tone, suggesting that the move was driven more by nationalism than religious extremism and that he was more interested in “a growth in French Canada of agnosticism which does worry the Church and that there is also growth in secular control and interest in education.” These factors, he argued, might make it easier to negotiate with them, if the Scout Association was willing to “turn the other cheek,” from time to time and bring moderate voices to the negotiation table. “We must not do things which are contrary to the teachings of our respective religious beliefs,” he pleaded.⁴⁷⁵

Dendy also urged a cautious approach in relations with Les Scouts because of shifting international conditions. Earlier that year a new International Catholic Scout Conference, formed of various national Catholic Scout Associations in Europe and Latin America, had received the blessing of the Vatican and had begun negotiations with the World Scout Bureau.⁴⁷⁶ The new Canadian association had sought affiliation within this new international structure. Dan Spry, now an executive officer with the World Scout Bureau, advised his replacement as Chief Executive for Scouting, Fred Finlay, that “the Catholic Conference must be accepted as a 'fait accompli' and that an arrangement has to be worked out whereby it can achieve its objective

⁴⁷³ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 36, File 13, French Catholic Scouting - 1962, Minutes of a meeting of the National Organization and Expansion Committee, June 15, 1962, 2.

⁴⁷⁴ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 36, File 13, French Catholic Scouting - 1962, Dave Morwood to Finlay, June 8, 1962.

⁴⁷⁵ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 36, File 13, French Catholic Scouting - 1962, C.J. Dendy to Finlay, September 26, 1962, 3.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., 1.

within the framework of the World Organization.”⁴⁷⁷ Whether or not a similar arrangement could be arranged with the Les Scouts remained to be seen, however.

The Boy Scout Association took most of the summer of 1962 to consider Les Scouts’ proposal, ultimately reaffirming their belief that “there should continue to exist in Canada only one Boy Scout organization available to all boys regardless of race, creed or colour.”⁴⁷⁸ This rejection set off a year of silence between the two organizations as both executives felt that they were at an impasse.⁴⁷⁹ Les Scouts went ahead with their own plans to seek a federal charter in the summer of 1963.⁴⁸⁰ Faced with a breakdown of communication between themselves and the new association and the apparent willingness of Les Scouts to forge ahead with or without the cooperation of the Boy Scouts, Deputy Chief Scout Leonard Nicholson made a passionate plea to his fellow executive committee members in February of 1964 to renew efforts to negotiate with Les Scouts.⁴⁸¹ He argued that the association should seek to hammer out a compromise solution because, “If our French-speaking colleagues wish to break away entirely and operate as a separate church boy organization, who are we to oppose them? Even in appearing to do so, we seem to be churlish and petulant.”⁴⁸² He urged tolerance and patience on both sides in order to restart negotiations to maintain the movement as a truly “Canadian” institution:

Our Movement will not be truly representative of Canada unless the French and English-speaking elements are joined in it. We want the French-speaking boys and their leaders,

⁴⁷⁷ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 36, File 13, French Catholic Scouting - 1962, Finlay to D.A. Thompson, October 12, 1962.

⁴⁷⁸ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 5, Folder 5, Minutes, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, 1962, 26-October 27, 1962, 14-15.

⁴⁷⁹ Records for both associations are very sparse for 1963.

⁴⁸⁰ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 37, File 3, French Catholic Scouting - 1964, Details of the discussion which preceded the resolutions recorded in minutes no. 23 of the May 8-9 1964 meeting of the Executive Committee, 1. The federal legislation granting the charter was only debated by the Senate, where it was introduced, in May of 1964.

⁴⁸¹ LAC, Leonard H. Nicholson Fonds (Nicholson), MG31 E54, Volume 4, File 1, Les Scouts Catholiques du Canada - correspondence, minutes, reports, memoranda, 1964, “A Statement Made by the Deputy Chief Scout to the Meeting of the National Council Executive Committee at Edmonton, With Respect to French Catholic Scouting,” February 8, 1964.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*, 6.

not only because of their liveliness and their Scoutcraft, and their individuality, but also because they are much a part of Canada as we are.⁴⁸³

Nicholson's plea appears to have had little immediate effect; a special meeting of the Organization and Expansion Committee that spring was quickly bogged down in more disagreement about whether or not they should recognize Les Scouts, let alone negotiate with them.⁴⁸⁴

Les Scouts decided to retract the incorporation bill from parliament in order to try one more round of talks. After some careful planning, the two organizations met in early December at Rideau Hall. Charles D'Amour, one of the representatives of Les Scouts at the meeting, recalls General Vanier's firm influence at the meetings. He signalled his desire for an immediate solution by both groups, telling them "Il y a une salle réservée pour vous, vous aller vous réunir et trouver le moyen de vous entendre. Vous pouvez manger ici, vous pouvez coucher ici."⁴⁸⁵

Nicholson's personal notes of the meeting noted a "friendly and frank tone" to the discussions.⁴⁸⁶ The meeting ended with both sides agreeing to strike a special committee to prepare a new agreement.⁴⁸⁷ Not the definite solution that Vanier desired, but a renewed commitment nonetheless.

A new Committee on Cooperation, composed of four representatives of each organization, met throughout the summer of 1965. Both sides continued to spar over the degree of autonomy and territorial reach of Les Scouts. Charles D'Amour, now the President of Les

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 7.

⁴⁸⁴ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 37, File 3, French Catholic Scouting - 1964, Minutes of the Organization and Expansion Committee, April 3, 1964.

⁴⁸⁵ Recounted in Poulet, *Scouts un jour!*, 82.

⁴⁸⁶ LAC, Nicholson, MG31 E54, Volume 4, File 1, Les Scouts Catholiques du Canada - correspondence, minutes, reports, memoranda, 1964, Notes from meeting at Government House, December 7, 1964, 1.

⁴⁸⁷ LAC, Nicholson, MG31 E54, Volume 4, File 1, Les Scouts Catholiques du Canada - correspondence, minutes, reports, memoranda, 1964, H.D. Graham to D.A. Thompson, December 10, 1964, 1.

Scouts, explained the importance of a national association for French-Canadian Scouts that could be seen as relevant to youth in the context of important social and political shifts of the 1960s:

Nous assistons simplement à une prise de conscience canadienne-française d'un océan à l'autre qui veut vivre pleinement son destin en terre canadienne, tout en recherchant une unité sur le plan national avec le monde anglo-saxon par des liens non encore définis exactement [...] Il faut tenir compte du sentiment séparatiste chez les jeunes du Québec au moment même où le scoutisme d'expression française est l'un de rares mouvements de jeunesse à rechercher des contacts avec les jeunes d'expression anglaises des autres provinces.⁴⁸⁸

Boy Scout officials on the committee were moved to accommodate these sentiments. Leonard Nicholson, for instance, reluctantly conceded that “there was no point in pressing it further and we must now seek agreement in some other form.”⁴⁸⁹

The Girl Guides of Canada offered both parties a compelling case study, as the Guides Catholiques du Canada had reached an affiliation agreement with the Girl Guides of Canada in 1962 where they were allowed to “run their own organization,” while recognizing the Girl Guides of Canada as the “overall national organization.”⁴⁹⁰ This “umbrella” model served as a template for Scout leaders. By October of 1965 the two sides had agreed on a draft agreement, which entrenched this affiliated but separate structure. In presenting the draft agreement to Boy Scout executives, Nicholson and Thompson argued that this was likely to be a final attempt at compromise:

We believe that we have gone about as far as we can 'giving in' to Les Scouts. We believe that they have gone as far as they will go in 'giving in' to us. We believe that if this agreement in present form or with minor amendments cannot be concluded, we must

⁴⁸⁸ ASHSB, Corporation archiépiscopale catholique romaine de Saint-Boniface, 0075, Série Baudoux, Boîte 20, PRO-SCO, Scouts Manitoba - correspondance générale (3), Notes concernant la réunion du comité conjoint tenue au Château Laurier, 6 mai, 1965, 3.

⁴⁸⁹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 37, File 5, French Catholic Scouting - 1965, Resume of Meeting, June 21, 1965, 2.

⁴⁹⁰ This description of the Girl Guides affiliation agreement taken from LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 37, File 6, French Catholic Scouting - 1966, Resume of relationships with French Catholic Scouting prepared by Commissioner L.H. Nicholson, May, 1966, 3.

accept the fact that there will be two organizations, one of which is an acknowledged, the other an out-law organization.⁴⁹¹

With this stark message coming from their own senior colleagues, the Executive passed the new agreement in full the following February, but also attached a condition that all ten provincial councils needed to approve the proposed agreement.⁴⁹²

Provincial approval was complicated by larger political concerns as well as continuing local opposition. Scout leadership was all too aware of this wider context affecting perceptions on both sides. The Chief Executive of the Boy Scouts, Fred Finlay, worried that ongoing battles between the federal government and Jean Lesage's Liberal government in Quebec over social programs like pensions, health care and family allowances threatened to sour the coming debate of the proposed agreement. "The actions of Mr. Kierans and Mr Lévesque are certainly helping to reduce our chances of getting the agreement approved," he argued, "One can only hope that the views of the moderates on both sides will prevail."⁴⁹³

Finlay's concerns proved well-founded when early opposition to the proposed agreement - mainly from Ontario - reached the national headquarters in Ottawa. Kingston Ontario's District Council, for instance, argued that there should only be "*one* Boy Scout Movement which is available to all boys regardless of race, colour or creed and that the creation of a separate Organization point in an opposite direction from the unification for which we continuously endeavour to achieve."⁴⁹⁴ A province-wide survey of the district councils revealed that forty-two

⁴⁹¹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 6, Folder 1, Minutes, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, 1965, October 15-16, 1965, 4.

⁴⁹² LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 6, Folder 2, Minutes, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, 1966, February 4-5, 1966, 15-16.

⁴⁹³ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 37, File 6, French Catholic Scouting - 1966, Finlay to H.D. Graham, January 11, 1966. Eric Kierans and René Lévesque were the ministers of Health and Family and Social Welfare respectively in 1965 and had coordinated a very public spat with Ottawa over jurisdiction over these files, Graham Fraser, *René Lévesque and the Parti Québécois in Power*, 2nd ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 37.

⁴⁹⁴ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 37, File 6, French Catholic Scouting - 1966, E.W. Andrews, Secretary, Kingston District Council to Provincial Council for Ontario (copied to National Headquarters), January 12, 1966. Emphasis in original.

Ontario districts were flatly against the proposal, two wanted to defer the agreement for further study, five were in favour of the agreement with amendments and only two in favour of the agreement as proposed.⁴⁹⁵ The Ontario Provincial Council used these findings to back its push to amend the agreement to entrench the right of provincial councils to refuse to implement this or any future proposed agreement.⁴⁹⁶ W.R. Kay, the President of the Ontario Provincial Council, complained to Boy Scout President Howard Graham that other provinces with little to no direct experience with Les Scouts should not be dictating the association's national policy, "A problem exists in the provinces of Quebec, Manitoba, New Brunswick and Ontario, but it is a local matter and should be dealt with on a local basis. Ontario has been remiss in not dealing with this problem in a more punitive way during the past thirty odd years."⁴⁹⁷

Air Vice-Marshal James Harvey inherited the mantle of Deputy Chief Scout, and the task of trying to rally provincial executives to the draft agreement, from Leonard Nicholson in 1966.⁴⁹⁸ He and Nicholson both wanted a swift resolution to the continued impasse with Ontario. They helped organize a meeting between Boy Scout national executive officials, Ontario Provincial Council officers and representatives of Les Scouts in mid-November, 1966. Bill Kay, serving as Past President of the Ontario Provincial Council, argued that he continued to be opposed "to two separate organizations in Scouting in Canada and that to date no satisfactory explanation had been given for such an arrangement."⁴⁹⁹ Les Scouts representatives argued in turn that linguistic and cultural considerations were critical in considering the need for a separate

⁴⁹⁵ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 37, File 6, French Catholic Scouting - 1966, W.R. Kay to Graham, January 20, 1966, 1.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid, Appendix, "Summary of the report made by the Organization and Expansion Committee to the Provincial Executive Committee," 14 January, 1966, 1. The National Executive had sought provincial consent for the draft agreement, but it appears that it was not compelled to do so, which evidently frustrated the Ontario Council.

⁴⁹⁷ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 37, File 6, French Catholic Scouting - 1966, Kay to Graham, March 4, 1966, 1.

⁴⁹⁸ Nicholson had agreed to stay on in a reduced capacity as an International Commissioner.

⁴⁹⁹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 37, File 7, French Catholic Scouting - 1966, Minutes of a special meeting of representatives of the Provincial Council for Ontario in general council and Les Scouts Catholiques, November 14, 1966, 3.

Scout organization in Canada. Jean-Charles D'Amour provided a compromise, offering that he could propose to his Les Scouts colleagues that the "Catholiques" designation be dropped from their title if this would help mollify opposition to the organization in Ontario.⁵⁰⁰ This admission of the mutability of the officially Catholic characteristic of French-Canadian Scouting was a significant departure from the arguments advanced by French-Canadian Catholic Bishops, particularly Msgr. Baudoux. D'Amour warned his Ontario counterparts, however, that such changes must come as a decision from within Les Scouts and not as a condition for a new agreement, "because this might just be enough to cause the members of his organization to decide not to give an inch on this point."⁵⁰¹ D'Amour also reminded the meeting of his oft-repeated argument that a deal should be concluded soon so as to make a "great deal of publicity to the effect that the Scouting family served as an example to the rest of Canada at the beginning of the Centennial Year."⁵⁰² Towards the end of the discussion E.A. Jarrett, President of the Ontario Provincial Council, offered a potential compromise in noting that the Ontario Council would likely drop its opposition to Les Scouts if they were to agree to operate in the Canadian General Council, even as a separate but affiliated organization.⁵⁰³ Though no concrete compromise was reached, some Ontario delegates had shown a willingness to consider further discussion.

Despite the progress made in these consultative meetings, the Ontario Provincial Council remained divided over the matter of relations with Les Scouts. A subsequent provincial executive meeting was marked by vigorous discussion of the issue.⁵⁰⁴ The shadows of Quebec nationalism and increasing ethnic and religious diversity in Canada hung over much of the discussion. Ken

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., 5.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., 16.

⁵⁰² Ibid., 14.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., 15.

⁵⁰⁴ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 37, File 7, French Catholic Scouting - 1966, Minutes of a regular meeting of the provincial executive committee, November 18, 1966, 14-15.

McKay, a representative from Toronto, noted the approaching Centennial and that the organization's deliberations reminded him of his own reading of the history of Confederation: "Dire predictions of one hundred years ago had never materialized. In the same manner difficulties which were foreseen at the present time in connection with the proposed Agreement with Les Scouts Catholiques likely would never occur."⁵⁰⁵ W. J. Tisdale, meanwhile, countered with the argument that "we should be endeavouring to build up a Canadian organization in a country where the inhabitants are Canadians," without subsidiary identities.⁵⁰⁶ In contrast, fellow Ontario executive officer Donald Deacon argued that the bilingual and bicultural nature of Canada was what made it unique in the world, and that "the French people have a right to work in their language and their background, because French is an equal language in this country."⁵⁰⁷ The spirit of compromise prevailed as the Ontario executive agreed to work towards drafting a new amendment to the proposed agreement that would suit their desire for one organization while also meeting the expectations of Les Scouts for autonomy.⁵⁰⁸ Boy Scout officials at the National headquarters seized on the apparent opening from Ontario; Howard Graham and Leonard Nicholson suggested moving ahead with a notice of motion to all members of the national executive to ratify the proposed agreement.⁵⁰⁹ It was crucial, they felt, that they move ahead with the proposal, "even though one Province indicates that it will vote against it."⁵¹⁰

When Nicholson rose to his feet to speak to his motion at the Executive meeting in Halifax in February of 1967, he had years of slow, occasionally acrimonious negotiation on the issue behind him. Though he was no longer serving as Deputy Chief Scout, he spoke with

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., 17.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., 18.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid., 18-19.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., 21.

⁵⁰⁹ LAC, Nicholson, MG31 E54, Volume 4, File 3, Les Scouts Catholiques du Canada - correspondence, agreements, reports, minutes, notes, 1966, Graham to Thompson, December 8, 1966.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid., 1.

authority on an issue which had gripped much of his time with the National Council. “Of all the issues that have come before this committee over the past ten years,” he noted, “none have been more persistent or more troublesome than the ones giving rise to this motion.”⁵¹¹ Nicholson asked his colleagues to lift the requirement for provincial consent in order to pass the amended agreement immediately:

Many of us feel that one Scout organization in each country is an ideal we should strive for - but facts are facts and if we cannot quite reach the ideal we should seek the best possible compromise - then determine to make that compromise work. It is a fact that our French speaking colleagues want a separate identity - and will be happy and satisfied with nothing less. They want to practice Baden-Powell Scouting but under their own administrative control. We must realize that this hunger for identification is not limited to Scouting but extends throughout their social and political structure. We have nothing to gain by opposing this trend - rather I think we all want to meet it with understanding, guided by what seems best for Canadian Scouting as a whole.⁵¹²

He went on to argue that failing to pass the agreement “during this Centennial year will expose a dismal story of dissention in Canadian Scouting,” and would also jeopardize the movement’s ability to play a central role in the numerous centennial activities to come.⁵¹³ Nicholson closed his remarks by reaching out to his colleagues from Ontario, who continued to oppose much of the agreement in favour of maintaining a unified structure:

I held the same opinion at one time - I wanted the clear sharp picture of one Boy Scout structure in Canada. But I, with many others, came to the belief that the clearest and sharpest single picture we could get was one painted by cooperation, the sort of cooperation given a framework by this agreement, a framework which must be filled in by goodwill and a genuine effort to make it work.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹¹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 6, Folder 3, Minutes, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, 1967, February 3-4, 1967, 4.

⁵¹² Ibid., 5.

⁵¹³ Ibid., 5.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., 6.

The agreement was put to a vote, though Ontario tried unsuccessfully to amend the motion to reinsert its more vigorous language on the right of provinces to refuse; the amendment failed and the agreement passed with only two votes opposed.⁵¹⁵

Both organizations then set to work organizing a suitable announcement ceremony at Rideau Hall with the Governor General - the Chief Scout of both organizations. Aware of the symbolism of the new agreement, the ceremony - planned for Baden-Powell's birthday of February 22 - included a balance of Cubs, Scouts and Rovers from both organizations, in addition to executive members from both associations.⁵¹⁶ Speeches at the event highlighted the broader context of the centennial and the role that Scout executives felt that the movement could continue to play for Canada's boys. Jean-Marie Poitras, President of Les Scouts, for instance, observed: "Nous nous réjouissons que cet accord entre nos deux organismes scouts deviennent officiel en ce début de l'année centenaire de la Confédération canadienne (sic). Puisse-t-il servir, à la grandeur du Canada, d'exemple de bonne volonté, de compréhension et de respect mutuel."⁵¹⁷ Governor General Georges Vanier, meanwhile, reminded the press and Scouts in attendance that youth had been a major concern of his since taking office, repeating a portion of a speech he had made in 1961: "Vous n'êtes pas sans savoir que j'ai répété plusieurs fois depuis ma nomination au poste de Gouverneur général que les trois questions principales qui m'occupent, préoccupent, me hantent, sont la jeunesse, l'unité nationale, les valeurs spirituelles. Dans la Fédération des Scouts du Canada, j'en trouve la synthèse."⁵¹⁸ Vanier continued: "Youth

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., 7.

⁵¹⁶ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 37, File 8, French Catholic Scouting - 1967, Finlay to Esmond Butler, Secretary to the Governor General, February 8, 1967. See also "Boy Scouts and Les Scouts in Accord," *The Scout Leader*, March, 1967, 8.

⁵¹⁷ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 37, File 8, French Catholic Scouting - 1967, Texte du discours de M. Jean-Marie Poitras, Président, Scouts Catholiques du Canada, February 22, 1967, 1.

⁵¹⁸ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 37, File 8, French Catholic Scouting - 1967, Governor General's remarks at the ceremony marking the signing of an agreement to affiliate between the Boy Scouts of Canada and Les Scouts Catholiques du Canada, February 22, 1967.

is the time when a nation's future is decided. The character we instil in our young people today will decide the destiny of our nation tomorrow.”⁵¹⁹ He also argued that “This agreement is a declaration for all Canadians that whatsoever is worthwhile can and must be done in unity. No other lesson for our Country in our Centennial Year could be more important or imperative.”⁵²⁰ For the moment, at least, it appeared that the Scout movement had rediscovered a new national balance that would allow it to present itself as a model for Canadian youth and Canadian unity.

Conclusion

The 1967 agreement between Les Scouts and the Boy Scouts was not the final chapter of the complicated history of suspicion, division, acrimony and negotiated compromise within the Scout movement in Canada. In 1969, for instance, Les Scouts dropped the “Catholiques” from its title, though it continued to remain nominally tied to the Church in its programming and staffing (there continued, for instance, to be chaplains in the movement). This change in name necessitated an amendment to the agreement between the two Scout associations, and the new Association des Scouts du Canada also sought incorporation under federal statute. Anticipating that the bill would trigger concern in parliament about Quebec separatism at a very sensitive time, both associations worked out a strategy for presenting a united front in support of the changes represented in the bill.⁵²¹ Despite the Boy Scouts’ best efforts to present the name change and incorporation as “the second stage in a program of cooperation,” between the two associations, some parliamentarians worried that the bill signalled a concession to separatist

⁵¹⁹ Ibid., 1.

⁵²⁰ Ibid., 1.

⁵²¹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 38, File 3, French Catholic Scouting - 1969, Procès-verbal, comité de coopération, March 6, 1969, 1-2.

sentiment in Quebec.⁵²² When the bill was tabled in Parliament, some MPs worried about the precedent of creating a separate structure for French Canadians. The Member of Parliament for Kootenay West in British Columbia, Randolph Harding, wrote to the Boy Scouts to express his disapproval of the bill: “I feel one national organization for all boys, regardless of race, colour or religion, is more apt to bring about true Canadian unity than the setting up of two distinct and separate organizations.”⁵²³ In spite of this type of opposition from some quarters, the bill passed; its passing signified a quiet, but significant shift for a movement which had vigorously asserted the need for a separate French-Canadian and Catholic Scout organization in Canada.

The drive to broaden the reach of French-Canadian Catholic Scouting beyond the borders of Quebec, led by Catholic bishops outside Quebec in communities like Ottawa, Saint-Boniface and Moncton had been predicated on the notion that a truly national French-Canadian Catholic Scout association was needed to effectively reach French-Canadian boys and provide a model of Scouting better suited to their cultural, religious and linguistic needs. Did the move to create Les Scouts Catholiques du Canada, later the Association des Scouts du Canada, achieve these objectives? It is certainly difficult to measure success in this regard. Membership figures, while imperfect sources, do provide a hint of whether the movement was able to expand in French Canada as a result of the expansion of French-Canadian Scouting’s organizational reach. Membership data for French-Canadian Scout troops outside Quebec prior to the creation of Les Scouts is difficult, if not impossible, to find. Membership in the first year of the new association does, however, provide a glimpse of the state of French-Canadian Scouting in the early 1960s. The Western region (British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba) had 783 boys and

⁵²² LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 38, File 3, French Catholic Scouting - 1969, Press release, Boy Scouts of Canada, March 22, 1969. See also Boy Scouts of Canada's Position with respect to the Federal Incorporation of L'Association des Scouts du Canada, March 1969.

⁵²³ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 38, File 3, French Catholic Scouting - 1969, Randolph Harding to Percy Ross, March 24, 1969.

leaders registered, with 504 of those concentrated in the archdiocese of Saint-Boniface.⁵²⁴ The Atlantic Conference, meanwhile, lacked data outside of New Brunswick, but the province reported 2,003 members in 1962.⁵²⁵ The first available cross-section of all four regional conferences' membership is for 1965, when the West reported 898 members (457 in Saint-Boniface), Ontario reported 2,723, and the Maritimes/Atlantic (including Nova Scotia) reported 1,368.⁵²⁶ Six years later, these regional numbers appeared more or less stable; the West reported 652 members (484 in Saint-Boniface), Ontario reported 3,362, and the Maritimes/Atlantic (including Nova Scotia) reported 1,403.⁵²⁷ These small increases reflect modest gains in general membership over the same time period, from 23,657 in 1965 to 24,509 in 1971.⁵²⁸ Though the movement did not expand drastically, it was able to maintain relatively steady membership numbers throughout the late 1960s into the early 1970s.

The various organizational permutations of Scouting in Canada reflect the ever-shifting and unfixed nature of identity politics in twentieth century French and English-speaking Canada. The creation of a distinctly French-Canadian and Catholic Scout movement in French Canada came out of a process of adaptation of what was seen at first to be an Anglo-Protestant and imperialist youth movement. French-Canadian leaders, both clerical and secular, eventually changed their view of the movement when they considered its potential to be used to bring boys into contact with a more muscular experience of nature, religion and national identity. The consolidation of various local adaptations of Scouting into a single French-Canadian Catholic

⁵²⁴ ASHSB, Association des Scouts du Canada; District de la Rivière-Rouge, 0073, Box 1200, File 174, Correspondance, 1961, Région de l'Ouest: Ou sont les feux? Rapport, 1962.

⁵²⁵ CEEAC, L'Association des scouts catholiques du Canada - District de Moncton, Fonds 71.58, Conseil Provincial régional de l'Atlantique – documents, 1961-1969, Rapport Annuel, Scouts Catholiques du Canada, Conseil Provincial du Nouveau-Brunswick, 1962, 30-32.

⁵²⁶ ASHSB, Association des Scouts du Canada; District de la Rivière-Rouge, 0073, Box 1197, File 098, Recensement, 1965,.

⁵²⁷ BANQ, Fédération des Scouts du Québec, P189, Vol. 4, File. 1.8.0, Publications de l'A.S.C., Général, Association des Scouts du Canada, Rapport Annuel, 1971, 22.

⁵²⁸ Ibid., 26.

movement under episcopal control in Quebec alienated French-Canadian troops outside the province as the Boy Scout Association and Cardinal Villeneuve worked out an agreement that limited the new association to Quebec. This new structural order officially acknowledged a separate structure for Quebec - a significant shift - and officially severed existing ties between French-Canadian Scout leaders outside of Quebec and their colleagues in *la belle province*.

It did not take long, however, for French-Canadian religious leaders, many of whom had been exposed to Scouting in Quebec, to try to renew ties with La Fédération, either officially or covertly. In the Ottawa Valley this took the form of an open break-away group which forced both la Fédération and the Boy Scout Association to modify the 1935 agreement to include French-Canadians in dioceses that straddled the Ontario-Quebec border under the umbrella of La Fédération. The Ordre de Jacques Cartier played an important role in this episode, and continued to encourage similar efforts in other parts of the country. Western-Canadian French-Canadian bishops, particularly Msgr. Maurice Baudoux in Saint-Boniface, also pushed to redefine the reach and scope of French-Canadian Catholic Scouting. Leaders in La Fédération, meanwhile, were sympathetic to this push, but also worried about protecting the existing rights and autonomy guaranteed for Quebec in the existing Scouting structure. French-Canadian Catholic Scout leaders in Ottawa and elsewhere worried, meanwhile, about the demographic and structural clout that Quebec would carry in the new structure. Nevertheless, a new pan-Canadian Francophone Scout association emerged in the 1960s, a time assumed to be one of decline in French-Canadian unity.

The creation of Les Scouts Catholiques du Canada and its eventual renewed affiliation with the Boy Scouts of Canada in 1967 reflected the ongoing process of negotiation and adaptation within Canadian Scouting. Their common belief in the potential of the Scout method

to successfully train the “leaders of tomorrow” butted up against the political, social and cultural dynamics of the day. The 1967 agreement proved to be a temporary solution. Shortly afterwards, in an effort to maintain cultural and social relevance, Les Scouts Catholiques took on another significant, if less dramatic, transformation, and dropped “Catholiques” from its name, yet another adjustment to the politics and social dynamics of the period.

Chapter Four: Scouting in the “Land of Twilight,” 1926-1957

Shortly before Christmas in 1970, the Canadian Scout Association’s Relationships Commissioner, Bert Mortlock, penned a short piece in *The Scout Leader* about “Scouting in Santa’s Country.”⁵²⁹ He noted that Scouting had existed in the Canadian North since the 1920s and that the movement’s expansion in the region was largely the work of “missionaries, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and teachers who first introduced Scouting to the Arctic.”⁵³⁰ Mortlock’s assessment was not far off the mark. Scouting was an integral part of the northern Canadian story of colonial and missionary expansion and encounter with the region’s indigenous populations in the early twentieth century. It was not a static tool of colonialism, however, as the movement adapted and modified its programming to fit changing attitudes about the region and its peoples. The following three chapters of this dissertation argue that the Scout movement’s changing attitude towards the region reflected the changing colonial landscape of the Canadian North in the twentieth century.⁵³¹ Scouting’s presence in the North shifted from a movement incorporated into the education and promotional work of missionaries, RCMP and the Hudson’s Bay Company to an integral part of a more robust postwar federal policy marked by increased intervention in the lives of northern Aboriginals and Inuit and by attempts to modify the Scout program to fit northern needs.

⁵²⁹ B.H. Mortlock, “Scouting in Santa’s Country,” *The Scout Leader* December, 1970, 7.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁵³¹ The use of “North” in this research refers to its connotation as a created construct, and imagined region, while “north” refers more to geographical location. Both “North” and “north” were used, at times interchangeably, by the Boy Scouts and federal government officials in their correspondence and planning of the expansion of Scouting into the territories as well as northern provincial areas around Hudson and James Bay. For more on the question of “nordicity” in Canadian culture and history see: Louis-Edmond Hamelin, *Canadian Nordicity: It’s Your North Too* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1979), I-13; Carl Berger “The True North Strong and Free,” in *Nationalism in Canada*, ed. Peter Russell (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 3-26; Sherrill E. Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001); Renée Hulan, *Northern Experience and Myths of Canadian Culture* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002).

This chapter considers the first years of Scouting's presence in the North - from the interwar years to the late 1950s. It argues that, congruent with the policy of benign neglect of the North and its inhabitants by the Canadian federal government - what Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent later called a "fit of absence of mind," - the Canadian Scout movement's leadership paid little attention to the North in the interwar years.⁵³² Religious leaders, teachers, police officers and HBC officials, however, all saw something in the movement that made it worth promoting in their activities in the North. For Catholic and Anglican missionaries, for instance, both the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides proved to be popular extracurricular activities in residential and day schools during the period. The Anglican Church in particular encouraged Scouting in its educational efforts in the North, and often used photos of uniformed Scouts marching dutifully behind the Scoutmaster (often the local missionary) as symbolic of their efforts amongst Aboriginal and Inuit boys in the North. In communities such as Carcross, Dawson City, Hay River and Aklavik, Scout groups became a tangible expression of the Christianizing efforts of the Church.

The North also offered a "frontier" environment in which southern Canadian boys could test their mettle against a more rugged natural environment while simultaneously allowing Scouting's supporters to promote an image of Scouting as an integral part of Canadian growth and expansion. The Hudson's Bay Company and the Catholic Church, in cooperation with Scouting officials, rewarded exemplary southern Scouts with trips to the North aboard its shipping vessels. The HBC experimented with rewarding a top Scout with a voyage on the supply ship *Nascopie* as part of its broader efforts to recruit new personnel and promote its new tourism activities in the North, while missionaries capitalized on special Scout journeys to

⁵³² Quoted in Shelagh Grant, *Sovereignty or Security? Government Policy in the Canadian North, 1936-1950* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988), 247.

promote their own missionary work in the region. These trips offered a unique northern experience for southern Scouts and a promotional opportunity for Scouting to show that Canadian Boy Scouts were active in the northernmost reaches of the country. By connecting Scouting with nationalist symbols of masculinity such as the RCMP and the HBC on these voyages, Scouting sought to sustain its image as a virile training ground for Canadian boys and as a key player in Canada's development.⁵³³

The Second World War renewed government concern over the strategic importance of the North in continental defence strategy, particularly after the Americans joined the war effort and insisted on beefing up continental defence in Alaska. The flurry of activity triggered by the construction of defence installations in the North also spurred new worries about the economic and social changes affecting northern Aboriginals and Inuit. The increased social and military focus on the North, along with a Supreme Court ruling which cemented the federal government's responsibilities towards the Inuit, stimulated a significant shift in the federal government's northern welfare and education policies. The Canadian Boy Scout Association's expansion in the North in the postwar era was very much part of this broader wave of school building and social service expansion in the region. A funding agreement between the Department of Northern Affairs and Scouting was developed in the postwar period and reflected this shared interest in the North and its indigenous population.

In spite of the Scout movement's expansion among northern Inuit and Aboriginal communities, it continued to rely on white leadership throughout the interwar and early postwar

⁵³³ For discussion of the connection between the RCMP, masculinity and nation see Michael Dawson, " 'That Nice Red Coat Goes to my Head Like Champagne,' : Gender, Antimodernism and the Mountie Image," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 32, no. 3 (1997), 119-139; Keith Walden, *Visions of Order The Canadian Mounties in Symbol and Myth* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1982). For the HBC's efforts to associate itself with national expansion, see Peter Geller, *Northern Exposures: Photographing and Filming the Canadian Arctic, 1920-1945* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).

period, expanding from missionary and RCMP leadership to include a new wave of northern “welfare workers” – social workers and federal day school teachers - as key leaders in the movement. Reports on Scouting’s progress, filed after yearly “study tours” by Scouting officials, focused on the outward signs of growth and improvement in Aboriginal and Inuit Scouts – cleanliness, discipline, “smartness,” tidy uniforms and knowing the Scout promise - little attention was given to more complex goals and outcomes. By the mid to late 1950s, however, the wisdom of assimilative education strategies was roundly criticized both outside and within the federal government, and both government and Scout officials recast the utility of Scouting, arguing it could be used to achieve the dual objective of both protecting certain elements of northern indigenous cultures while simultaneously preparing northern boys for integration into a modern Canadian North. Despite these new aims, little in the program changed in these years; it was only in the 1960s that both government and Scouting made serious attempts to adapt Scouting to northern needs (the subject of the following chapter).

Northern Scouting in the Interwar Period

In the years following the end of the First World War, Canadian interest in the North went through a brief, but important, surge, as concerns over sovereignty and the lure of possible resource riches (symbolized by the discovery of oil at Norman Wells in 1920) spurred increased government and commercial activity in the region.⁵³⁴ The federal government expanded its presence in the North throughout the early years after the Great War, negotiating and extending northern treaties and establishing basic patrols of its Arctic territory in addition to setting up RCMP posts throughout the Arctic Archipelago. In the 1930s, however, the Depression pushed the federal government to reduce its presence in the North, limiting itself to what one observer

⁵³⁴ See, for instance, Liza Piper, *The Industrial Transformation of Subarctic Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009).

described as “asserting authority; catching malefactors; trapping foxes; and saving souls.”⁵³⁵

Convinced that the North would remain largely isolated and untouched, government officials had little interest in investing significant resources in the region beyond minimal efforts to maintain claims of sovereignty.⁵³⁶ The Depression years were a time of reduced funding in the Departments of Northern Affairs and of Indian Affairs, which were eventually folded into a much larger Department of Mines and Resources in 1936-1937.⁵³⁷ The federal government remained content, in the words of Kenneth Coates, to leave the provision of health care and education in “Canada’s colonies” to the churches and HBC.⁵³⁸

The first northern Scout troops trace their roots to the communities tied to the Gold Rush and the first mission schools in the region; the first evidence of efforts to foster Scouting in the North occurred in Dawson City and Carcross, both in the Yukon, in 1912-1913. In Dawson, a troop of Boy Scouts was sponsored and supported by the local chapter of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (“IODE”) and run by the local Anglican minister.⁵³⁹ The IODE also sponsored a troop in Whitehorse. Both troops seem to have drawn boys from the local white community, and their activities mirrored those of other troops across the country during the First

⁵³⁵ The above observation is from founding member and Governor of the Arctic Institute of North America, George Raleigh Parkin, in 1943. Quoted in Shelagh D. Grant, “Northern Nationalists: Visions of ‘A New North,’ 1940-1950,” in *For Purposes of Dominion: Essays in Honour of Morris Zaslow*, ed. Kenneth S. Coates and William R. Morrison (Toronto: Captus Press, 1989), 49.

⁵³⁶ Shelagh D. Grant, *Sovereignty or Security*, 14-21; Janice Cavell and Jeff Noakes, *Acts of Occupation: Canada and Arctic Sovereignty, 1918-1925* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010); William Morrison, *Showing the Flag: The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty in the North, 1894-1925* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1985).

⁵³⁷ Morris Zaslow, *The Northward Expansion of Canada, 1914-1967* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988), 160-161. For more on the administrative history of the North, see: Terry Cook, “Paper Trails: A Study in Northern Records and Northern Administration, 1898-1958,” in *For Purposes of Dominion*, ed. Coates and Morrison, 13-35; Morris Zaslow, “Administering the Arctic Islands, 1880-1940: Policemen, Missionaries, Fur Traders,” in *A Century of Canada’s Arctic Islands, 1880-1980*, ed. Morris Zaslow (Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada, 1981), 61-78.

⁵³⁸ Kenneth Coates, *Canada’s Colonies: A History of the Yukon and Northwest Territories* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1985).

⁵³⁹ Yukon Archives, Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire - Dawson City Chapter fonds, 84/58, Meeting Minutes, July 8, 1913, 2.

World War, marking Empire Day and participating in other war time patriotic activities.⁵⁴⁰ In Carcross, Anglican minister E.D. Evans reported that recreation for boys at the new residential school was an important consideration: “Physical culture exercises and drilling are included in our curriculum, and we are endeavouring to raise a corps of boy scouts in connection with the school.”⁵⁴¹ Evans’ hopes of using Scouting in his teaching efforts echoed a broader adoption of Scouting in residential schools. As early as 1910, for instance, the Indian Agent for the Six Nations in Southern Ontario reported that Scouting had been approved by the school board which managed the 10 day schools in the area, noting: “The objects and work of this scouting is peculiarly adapted to Indians and should prove of great value in the future.”⁵⁴² For the Anglican Church of Canada, incorporating Scout troops into mission work, particularly in residential schools, was a logical extension of both the Church’s vision of its evangelizing mission and its more general role as one of the main providers of social services to the Aboriginal and Inuit population of the North.⁵⁴³

One of the earliest records of a Scout troop in the Northwest Territories was a group of Dene boys at an Anglican mission school led by a local RCMP officer in Hay River. The Boy Scout Association’s *Annual Report* for 1926 contains a grainy photo (Figure 2) of a group of young boys standing in front of their Scoutmaster. The photo caption describes the group “one of our Farthest North Troops.”⁵⁴⁴ The boys, standing at ease in loose formation outside one of the few buildings in Hay River at the time (likely a mission building, R.C.M.P. building or St. Peter’s Anglican School), lack any visible sign of Scout uniform, which is highlighted by the

⁵⁴⁰ Yukon Archives, Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire - Whitehorse Chapter fonds, COR 230 F.7, Membership/Minute Books, 1914-1987, Meeting Minutes, 1914-1918, April 22, 1915.

⁵⁴¹ Dominion of Canada, *Annual Report Of The Department Of Indian Affairs for The Year Ended March 31, 1912* (hereafter DIA, *Annual Report*), 588.

⁵⁴² DIA, *Annual Report*, 1910,301.

⁵⁴³ Ken S. Coates, *Best Left as Indians: Native-White Relations in the Yukon Territory, 1840-1973* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993).

⁵⁴⁴ Boy Scouts Association, Canadian General Council, *Annual Report for 1926*, 2.

neat and official appearance of the Scoutmaster in his full RCMP uniform. Scouting in the North was thus represented as a nascent movement, reflecting the institutional growth of the time.⁵⁴⁵

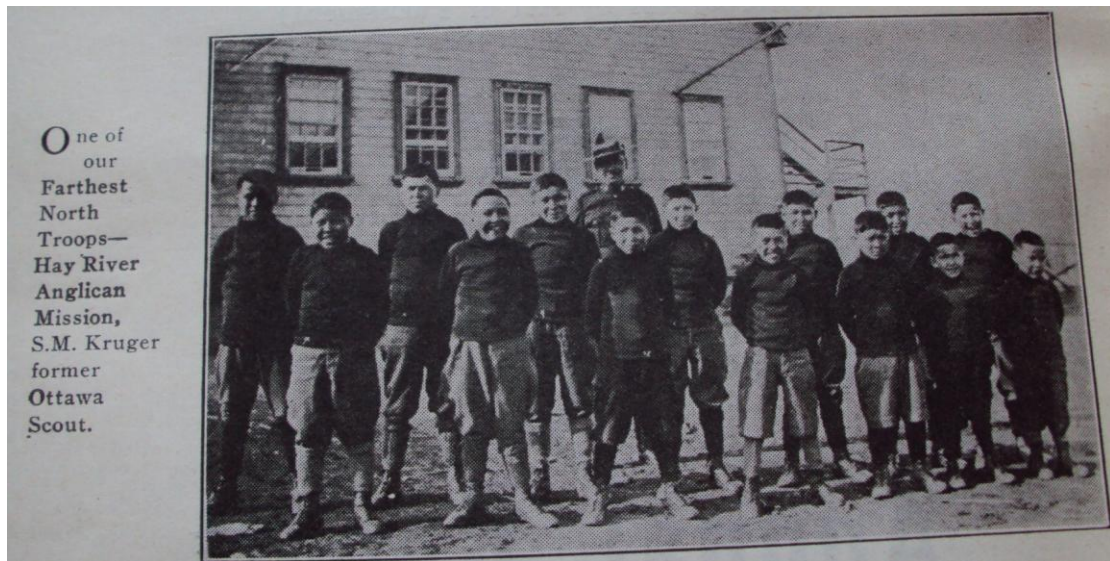


Figure 2 – Hay River Scout Troop, 1926. Source: Canadian General Council, *Annual Report for 1926*, 2.

As Peter Geller argues in his study of photographic representations of the Canadian North, the various agencies working in the region during the interwar period - be they government, commercial or religious - used photographs as tools to “comprehend and assert control over the region [...]. As seen through the camera lens, the North became an ordered environment, often defined in reference to a marker of southern ‘civilization’: the RCMP detachment, the mission station, the HBC outpost.”⁵⁴⁶ Boy Scouts and Girl Guides must also be considered part of the colonial landscape. Photographs of Boy Scouts in the Canadian North formed an important element of this colonial project. Northern Aboriginal and Inuit children, their photographs published in religious and Scout publications, often were shown embodying the overarching goals of assimilation and conversion through “the image of the Aboriginal boys

⁵⁴⁵ Scout groups were also created in the 1930s in the Yukon at Dawson City. See “Scouting at Dawson,” *Regina Leader Post*, March 23, 1942.

⁵⁴⁶ Peter Geller, *Northern Exposures*, 165.

and girls in the uniforms of ‘civilization,’ dutifully displaying themselves as dark-skinned ‘white men’ to the camera’s gaze.”⁵⁴⁷

The Anglican Church of Canada adopted Scouting just as it expanded its missionary efforts in the Canadian Arctic during the interwar period. As discussed previously, the Anglican General Synod officially endorsed Scouting as a suitable youth movement to be used by the Church in 1921. The endorsement of the movement thus coincided with its expanded efforts in the North. Up until 1927, the northern regions of the country were divided into a multitude of dioceses. In 1927, a special Archdeacon was appointed for the Arctic, and in 1933, under a new Bishop, Archibald Fleming, the Diocese of the Arctic, was created. The Diocese covered the entire Northwest Territories as well as the north coast of Quebec from James Bay to the tip of Labrador. While the Anglican Church had established missionary contact much earlier in the nineteenth century in the North, Hay River was one of its first boarding schools, which opened in 1894.⁵⁴⁸ The presence of St. Peter’s mission school, combined with a nearby RCMP barracks, an HBC post and Catholic mission made Hay River a key hub of activity in the early twentieth century and it is thus perhaps unsurprising to find early evidence of Scouting in the community. Government funding for the schooling costs of Dene children, covered by the terms of the recently negotiated Treaty 8, added to the institutional capacity to support extracurricular activities in the mission schools.⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid., 79.

⁵⁴⁸ General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada, *St. Peter’s School, Hay River, NWT* (Toronto: General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada, 2008), 2.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid., 1.



Figure 3 – Scouts at St Peter’s Indian Residential School (Hay River, NWT), [193?]. Source: GSA, MSCC. – Scrapbooks, St. Peter’s Indian Residential School, P7538-928.

The Scout troop, under the guidance of a local RCMP officer, soon grew, acquiring proper uniforms by the 1930s (Figure 3). By the late 1920s, general growth around the community of Aklavik, further north on the Mackenzie River, made it a major trading and government service hub. This led to the construction of a new mission school at Shingle Point to serve northern Inuvialuit (some of whom had previously made the long journey to Hay River). The school, beset by poor construction, harsh weather, and flooding issues, closed in 1936 and a new school, All Saints, opened in Aklavik.⁵⁵⁰ All Saints school was one of the larger mission schools in the Northwest Territories, with an average enrolment of roughly 100 students.⁵⁵¹ Like Hay River, Aklavik was contested missionary terrain, as the community boasted both a Catholic and Anglican mission, as well as hospitals run by both churches.⁵⁵²

⁵⁵⁰ General Synod Archives, *Shingle Point School – Yukon* (Toronto: General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada, 2008, updated June, 2011), 2.

⁵⁵¹ General Synod Archives, *All Saints School – Aklavik, NWT* (Toronto: General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada, 2008), 1.

⁵⁵² For more on the competition between Catholic and Anglican missionaries, see John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); Robert Choquette, *The Oblate Assault on Canada’s Northwest* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1995);

The Boy Scout and Girl Guide programs were introduced as extracurricular activities shortly after the opening of All Saints residential school in Aklavik. The local mission teacher, Doris Nixon, started up a Brownie and Guide group almost immediately, and by 1938 the school had both Scout and Guide groups at the school, touted as the “most northerly in the Empire.”⁵⁵³ This emphasis on the northern outpost status of the school and its Scout and Guide groups reinforced Bishop Archibald Fleming’s own message that the Anglican Church was, in his words, “the Sentinel of the North of the Anglican communion.”⁵⁵⁴ Fleming argued that the Anglican Church acted as a moral and educational bulwark against the forces of modernization and secularism which were encroaching upon the North and its Aboriginal and Inuit inhabitants. Fleming often blended his descriptions of the landscapes and peoples of the North as both being on the cusp of a great transformative change - a land and people in its twilight. Fleming described the North’s long twilight in one missionary publication with great awe, but then used that twilight as a cultural metaphor because it was also a “land of twilight in other senses as well because it is at the transitional period between primitive pagan simplicity on the one hand and highly organized civilization on the other.”⁵⁵⁵

Fleming, as others who have studied the gendered dynamics of missionary work in the Canadian North have noted, saw the North as a testing ground for manly self-reliance and grit, but also as a place bereft of the guiding light of religion.⁵⁵⁶ Accordingly, he both admired the

Raymond J.A. Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel to the Indian and the Métis* (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1996).

⁵⁵³ “Scouts Organize on Arctic Ocean” *Calgary Herald*, February 28, 1938. All Saints also had a Girl Guides Company, starting in 1937. See General Synod Archives (GSA), Archibald Lang Fleming Records, Mission Station Files, 1924-1958, Box 25, Folder 2, Aklavik (N.W.T), 1924-1952, M-96, Sub-series 1-3, All Saint’s School Concert, June, 1937; A.L. Fleming, *Sailing Through Arctic Skies* (Toronto: n.p., 1937), 11.

⁵⁵⁴ A.L. Fleming, *Sentinels of the North* (Toronto: n.p., 1939), 3.

⁵⁵⁵ A.L. Fleming, *Twilight* (Toronto: n.p., 1941), 2.

⁵⁵⁶ See, for instance, Myra Rutherdale, *Women and the White Man’s God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002); Barbara Kelcey, *Alone in Silence: European Women in the Canadian North Before 1940* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001).

hardiness of his Inuit flock while striving to open their eyes to the gospel and protect their innocence from what he saw as the crass materialism of southern society:

These nomads of the North, our friends the Eskimo, are simple children of nature and live with the spectre of starvation ever hanging over them. They have few of the comforts of civilization yet never complain but with quiet fortitude wrest a living from the grudging hand of nature in these vast territories.

After nearly forty years of contact with the Eskimo I feel about them as John Buchan felt about the Border Shepherds of Scotland when he wrote:- 'I have never had better friends, and I have striven to acquire some tincture of their philosophy of life, a creed at once mirthful and grave, stalwart and merciful.'⁵⁵⁷

Scouting, in the eyes of Anglican leaders like Fleming, fit well into the Church's self-assigned mission of Christianizing the Inuit and Aboriginals of the North while sheltering their position as "children of nature" from the threat of increasingly secular southern social mores. The Scouting and Guide programs were, Fleming argued in another publication, "of great value in teaching the native children the meaning of co-operation. Under normal circumstances the Indians and Eskimo are individualists."⁵⁵⁸ Scout troops figured prominently in missionary promotional materials during the period, both in photographs and in written material, and male Scout leaders were often described in robust masculine language. In a brief description of life in Aklavik, for instance, the local Scoutmaster, Canon Harry Shepherd, is described as the "ideal type" for work with children in the North, "He is a sturdy man but very gentle and kindly and is, therefore, well suited to deal with the many difficult problems that come up in connection with native children away from their homes."⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁷ A.L. Fleming, *Fog, Ice and Sunshine* (Toronto: n.p., 1946), 5.

⁵⁵⁸ A.L. Fleming, *Arctic Advance* (Toronto: n.p., 1944), 13.

⁵⁵⁹ Fleming, *Twilight*, 12.



Figure 4 - Canon Harry Sherman Shepherd, Scout Master, leading boy scouts, girl guides and brownies, Aklavik, NWT, 1941. Source: GSA, Diocese of the Arctic, P9314 – 84.

As if to illustrate Shepherd's leadership qualities the next page of the promotional booklet featured a photo of Shepherd leading the Aklavik Scouts and Girl Guides in single file (Figure 4). Peter Geller, in his work on northern photography, argues that this photo is laced with the hierarchy of imperialism. Geller describes Shepherd leading his troop across the frame as like "a trek toward 'civilization,' imagined in the terms of Empire and Christianity."⁵⁶⁰ The boys and girls in the photo embody the "whiteness" and increasing rigidity of the educational experience offered in mission schools. Compared to the photograph of an earlier Scout Troop at Hay River in 1926 (Figure 2), in which the young Scouts lack full uniforms and stand in more relaxed poses (though they have appear to be lined up by height), the troop at Aklavik is portrayed marching in a disciplined line, fully uniformed, behind their properly uniformed leader.⁵⁶¹ Given Fleming's description of the North's transition from "a primitive pagan simplicity on the one hand and highly organized civilization on the other," the composition of the photo is all the more poignant

⁵⁶⁰ Geller, *Northern Exposures*, 82

⁵⁶¹ Fleming, *Twilight*, 13.

as the older boys follow their Scoutmaster, and the Girl Guides and Brownies follow in the rear, mirroring a more formalized presence of the movement in the North.⁵⁶²

The Anglican Church was not the only institution interested in bringing Scouting into Canada's northern reaches. The Hudson's Bay Company briefly experimented with including Scouts on the voyages of the HBC supply ship *Nascopie*, which also doubled as the vessel for Canada's Eastern Arctic Patrol. Company officials hoped that having a Scout travel on the patrols would serve to "interest these young Canadians in the fur trade in the hope of finding good apprentices for the company."⁵⁶³ King Scout Eric Liddell of Kitsilano High School in Vancouver, British Columbia was the first Boy Scout to earn a trip aboard the *Nascopie* in 1933 for being "the most worthy of all the scouts in Canada."⁵⁶⁴ Liddell joined a larger group of guests who travelled on the *Nascopie* as part of the HBC's efforts to increase revenues through renting berths on their supply ships to tourists.⁵⁶⁵ While Liddell was rarely the focus of any promotion of the tour, his presence was noted in the coterie of government and HBC officials travelling through the Canadian Arctic.⁵⁶⁶ The *Vancouver Sun* highlighted the pride of the local Scout Association in his selection and the opportunity to travel aboard the *Nascopie* as "the greatest adventure that could come to a Canadian boy in this day and generation."⁵⁶⁷

In the initiative's second year, Winnipeg Scout Cockburn McCallum travelled with a larger, higher profile group of passengers which included HBC Governor Patrick Ashley Cooper and his wife. As it was the first time an HBC Governor had travelled on such a journey,

⁵⁶² Ibid., 2, 13.

⁵⁶³ LAC, Northern Affairs Program (Northern Affairs), RG 85, Series D-1-A, Volume 231, File: 660-7, Part 1, Boy Scouts Association, 1940-1951. McKeand to R.A. Gibson, Deputy Commissioner, December 30, 1940.

⁵⁶⁴ Archibald Lang Fleming, *Baffin Land Re-Visited* (Re-printed from the Canadian Churchman: Toronto, 1933), 3. A King or Queen's Scout is the highest ranking a Boy Scout can earn.

⁵⁶⁵ Geller, *Northern Exposures*, 2-6.

⁵⁶⁶ See, for example, A.L. Fleming, *Baffin Land-Re-Visited* (Toronto, n.p., 1933), 3.

⁵⁶⁷ "Vancouver Scout Wins Arctic Trip," *Vancouver Sun*, May 22, 1933, 9.

promotion of the voyage was much more prolific than the 1933 trip.⁵⁶⁸ McCallum followed the impressive parade of officials throughout the journey. Newspaper coverage of the voyage noted the young Scout's adventures and experiences, both of the natural environment and the pomp and ceremony of the tour:

Locked in the ice-floes and fogs for seven and three days on end, seeing Eskimos and visiting the northern outposts of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police were some of the experiences of Cockburn McCallum, King's Scout of the 44th Winnipeg Group, who was this year's scout guest on the Hudson's Bay Company's supply ship, *Nascopie*, carrying scout greetings to ex-scouts in service at the company's trading posts.⁵⁶⁹

McCallum's voyage was the last sponsored Scout voyage on the *Nascopie*. Existing Scout records are unclear exactly why the HBC sponsorship program ended, though cost was likely a factor in these, the lean years of the Depression. Scout officials later noted that it was after an "unfortunate" selection of a Scout for the second year's journey that the HBC and government officials decided to shelve the idea, though the arctic cruises for paying passengers continued.⁵⁷⁰

The *Nascopie* was not the only supply ship which carried Boy Scouts on the "greatest adventure" a Canadian boy could hope for. An HBC supply ship in Alberta also carried two Edmonton Boy Scouts on a voyage on the Athabasca River to Fort Fitzgerald in 1933, likely part

⁵⁶⁸ For more on the documentary and promotional efforts surrounding the voyage, see "An Illustrated Record of an Unique Voyage," *The Beaver*, December, 1934, 9-12; R.H.H. Macaulay, photographs by Harvey Bassett, *Trading Into Hudson's Bay: A Narrative of the Visit of Patrick Ashley Cooper; Thirtieth Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, to Labrador; Hudson's Strait and Hudson's Bay, in the year 1934* (Winnipeg: Associated Screen News, 1934). For analysis of the promotional efforts of the HBC during this period, see Geller, *Northern Exposures*, 85-134.

⁵⁶⁹ "Boy Life," *Toronto Daily Star*, December 28, 1934, 35. See also, "Sinks to silk stockings included in cargo of Hudson's Bay ship," *Globe and Mail*, July 6, 1934, 1.

⁵⁷⁰ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A, Volume 231, File: 660-7, Part 1, Boy Scouts Association, 1940-1951, McKeand to R.A. Gibson, Deputy Commissioner, December 30, 1940. There is no elaboration on what went awry with McCallum's journey in 1934, only that the "selection of a scout from Winnipeg in 1934 was so unfortunate that no more scouts have been given free passage by the Hudson's Bay Company." A search of the HBC archive in Winnipeg similarly turned up no further insight into the trip. For more on the Eastern Arctic Patrol and HBC efforts to recruit more Canadians in the Depression era, see Zaslow, *The Northward Expansion of Canada*, 198; Arthur J. Ray, *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 180-184.

of the same promotion and recruiting initiative of the HBC.⁵⁷¹ Catholic missionaries working in the Arctic, under then Hudson Bay Bishop Arsène Turquetil, also used shipping vessels to bring Boy Scouts from Canadian cities on brief excursions into the North. In 1933, for instance, Alfred Mahoney, a Boy Scout from Montreal, travelled aboard the “tiny motorship (sic)” Pius XI, which was travelling north for more permanent service amongst the Inuit and Aborigines served by Catholic missions.⁵⁷²

Though the experiment in sending Boy Scouts on northern supply and Eastern Arctic Patrol voyages was a short-lived one, it reveals the increasing public attention on the Canadian North as well as the concerted effort by religious and commercial interests to use the Boy Scouts to promote their own activities there. Notwithstanding the limited immediate effect of sending a few Canadian boys into the North, its promotional potential was far greater. It offered both the churches and the HBC a means to connect with a youthful, masculine image (and thereby boost recruiting efforts or interest in their activities) while simultaneously cementing the status of Scouting as a virile character building movement for boys, even if they travelled mainly as guests on these voyages.

The connection between the Boy Scouts and the North recaptured the imagination of some government and Boy Scout officials with the outbreak of war in 1939. In October of 1940, for instance, Major David L. McKeand, Superintendant of the Eastern Arctic for the Department of Mines and Resources, spoke with Boy Scout Association executives John Stiles and Gerald Brown at the Ottawa funeral for former Dominion Police Chief Sir Percy Sherwood, where they briefly discussed the prospects for Scouting in the North. Stiles followed up a few days after the

⁵⁷¹ “World-Wide Scout News: Down the Athabasca,” *The Granby Leader-Mail*, September 15, 1933, 6.

⁵⁷² “Tiny Motorship Sails for Arctic,” *Calgary Herald*, July 29, 1933, 22. In addition to the four-man crew, the ship carried Dr. G. Gardiner, a professor at the University of Montreal (Université de Montréal) and Father Dutilly, O.M.I.

funeral with an offer to “to carry Scouting and Scouting games to the children of the natives,” as per their earlier discussion. Stiles also asked for maps and population figures for the arctic regions of the Dominion and whether the Department would be prepared to help finance such an expansion by paying for a Scout executive to travel aboard the *Nascopie*. McKeand, fearing he may have overstepped his authority to speak on the issue, wrote to the Department’s Assistant Deputy Minister and Deputy Commissioner for the Territories, Roy Gibson, to explain that, though he had made no commitments about the *Nascopie* or funding, “if the Arctic Islands are part of the Dominion there is no reason why troops of Boy Scouts or Girl Guides should not be operating there in the same manner as in the more settled parts of the Dominion.”⁵⁷³

This set off internal debate in the Department as officials considered the merits of providing funding for Scout officials to travel north during the war. Ultimately, they discouraged any formal application for a berth on the *Nascopie*, and McKeand replied to Stiles that the government could not provide any financial support for Scouting expansion in the North during the war, though he did provide population data on northern communities for their own consideration.⁵⁷⁴ The interest in expanding Scouting into the North was put to rest by the Boy Scouts Association a few days later. After consulting the Department’s population figures, Scout officials calculated that there were roughly as many boys of Scouting age in the North as there were boys in the Ottawa neighbourhood of Rockcliffe. “It would hardly seem wise,” argued Stiles in a reply to McKeand, “therefore, even if conditions permitted, to spend the time and money necessary visiting the many little groups when the total would be less than five

⁵⁷³ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A , Volume 231, File: 660-7, Part 1, Boy Scouts Association, 1940-1951, Memorandum to Gibson by D.L. McKeand, October 21, 1940; John A. Stiles to Major D.L. McKeand, October 18, 1940.

⁵⁷⁴ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A , Volume 231, File: 660-7, Part 1, Boy Scouts Association, 1940-1951, Memorandum to Gibson by D.L. McKeand, October 21, 1940 (handwritten notes by departmental officials in margins); McKeand to Stiles, October 26, 1940.

hundred.”⁵⁷⁵ Without government support, and little perceived potential for growth in the region, the Boy Scout Association turned away from the North, leaving its growth to missionaries and other officials in the region.

The brief debate about expanding Scouting in the North in 1940 came just as military and political focus sharpened on the region. Canadian war industries, hungry for the raw materials needed to fuel the war effort, pushed the federal government to reopen mines around Yellowknife, including the Eldorado mine, which became a key supplier for Allied atomic energy research.⁵⁷⁶ Canada, in cooperation with an initially neutral American ally, also built a number of airfields to manage the refuelling of long-haul supply flights, as well as establishing northern radar and radio installations. Military activity in the North accelerated with the entry of the United States into the conflict after the bombing of Pearl Harbour in December of 1941.⁵⁷⁷ Concerned about Alaska’s vulnerability to Japanese attack and fearful that an unprotected North could provide a weak flank for the continent, the American military quickly sought to beef up continental defence capabilities. Massive infrastructure projects like the Canol Pipeline, the Alaska Highway and the Northwest Staging Route brought unprecedented numbers of American and Canadian engineers, military personnel and labourers into the North.⁵⁷⁸ American personnel stationed in the North often administered health care and other services for Aboriginal and Inuit communities in the area, and often criticized the federal government’s failure to look after their welfare.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁵ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A , Volume 231, File: 660-7, Part 1, Boy Scouts Association, 1940-1951, Stiles to McKeand, October 31, 1940.

⁵⁷⁶ Zaslow, *The Northward Expansion of Canada*, 205-206.

⁵⁷⁷ Grant, *Sovereignty or Security?*, 57-69.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., 75-86; Ken. S. Coates and William R. Morrison, *The Alaska Highway in World War II: The U.S. Army of Occupation in Canada’s Northwest* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

⁵⁷⁹ Grant, *Sovereignty or Security?*, 88-90.

With American military muscle, however, came Canadian hand wringing over the security of the country's northern territory. As early as 1943, Canadian magazines and newspapers were both extolling the potential of the North and calling for its protection in light of the presence of over 43,000 American civil and military personnel.⁵⁸⁰ Canadian government officials echoed this public desire to reaffirm control of the North. Federal minister Charles Camsell, in a remarkable pique of interest in the North he had not shown during most of his career as Deputy Minister of Mines, wrote that Canada's new frontier lay to the north: "Just as the map of Canada has for a century been unrolled westward, so now it is northward that 'the tide of Empire takes its way.'"⁵⁸¹

The Anglican Church also expressed concern with the scale and nature of the transformations taking place in the North. Bishop Fleming wrote wistfully, "The North will never be the same again because of their [American and Canadian militaries] coming and because of future developments once hostilities have ceased."⁵⁸² Later, as the war came to a close, Fleming expressed concern that northern Inuit and Aboriginals would be unable to adapt to postwar life:

This is one of the most difficult phases of the period of transition from a primitive existence to so-called civilization[...] What about the future? In this great new land there is a freedom, not known in the South, which develops a sturdy individualism and crude independence that are essential even while difficult to control. Every man must be resourceful and able to endure privation with patience. Otherwise he will be broken, for the North is merciless. These fine traits of character make it hard for the people to adjust themselves to laws and regulations issued by Government or anybody else.⁵⁸³

Fleming argued that the Church's protective presence was needed more than ever in the region.

He argued that the postwar world would challenge them "with ever increasing dangers and

⁵⁸⁰ Grant, *Sovereignty or Security?*, 122-125.

⁵⁸¹ Grant, *Sovereignty or Security?*, 148.

⁵⁸² A.L. Fleming, *Arctic Advance*, 14.

⁵⁸³ A.L. Fleming, *What Price Rats?* (Toronto: n.p., 1945), 11, 13.

temptations due to the presence of more and yet more White people in the country.” The Church, he argued, had to protect them from these influences:

They have such complete trust in us (i.e. their Church leaders and me their Bishop) that it would be a crime indeed to fail them in this hour of gravest peril. Just because they have this deep confidence in us and have the most winning ways it is sometimes hard not to idealize and forget how greatly they need the Church to steer them across the rapidly changing sea of civilization that has come in upon them like a flood. We cannot leave them without God for that would mean without hope.⁵⁸⁴

Postwar Northern Policy

Sustained economic growth in Canada in the postwar years meant that the demand for northern resources continued to expand.⁵⁸⁵ The end of one war did not mean a smaller military presence in the region, as another threat - the Soviet Union and the tensions of the Cold War - emerged soon afterwards. The increased public awareness of the North, both as an untapped frontier and as a military vulnerability, coupled with a more general support for an increased government role in planning and sustaining economic growth, employment and in providing improved social services, helped to push the federal government to include the health and welfare of northern Aboriginals and Inuit in their post-war planning. This also meant that the government supplanted the churches as the providers of social services in the North.

The federal government of Mackenzie King was not motivated by simple altruism in increasing services to northern Aboriginals and Inuit. During the interwar period confusion over whether the Inuit should be considered a federal or provincial responsibility had come to a head in a dispute between the federal government and the provincial government of Quebec. In 1939 the Supreme Court, in the *re Eskimo* ruling, settled the matter by ruling that Inuit should be considered subject to the terms of the Indian Act, which set the stage for postwar Aboriginal and

⁵⁸⁴ Fleming, *Fog, Ice and Sunshine*, 15.

⁵⁸⁵ Zaslow, *The Northward Expansion of Canada*, 234-270.

Inuit policy in the North.⁵⁸⁶ A new generation of officials, led by Deputy Minister of Mines and Resources and Commissioner of the Northwest Territories, Hugh L. Keenleyside, replaced the previous parsimonious interwar bureaucracy with what Zaslow describes as a “more firm, confident and innovative leadership to Northern Administration.”⁵⁸⁷ When the King government created the new Department of National Health and Welfare shortly after the 1945 federal election, Inuit were included in its provisions and were extended state support through the Family Allowance.⁵⁸⁸

The federal government assumed an increased role in Inuit and Aboriginal education in the North. Increased scrutiny and criticism both from outside and within government, the government’s clarified obligations to Inuit following the *Re Eskimo* decision and internal evaluation by government officials of the future needs of the Inuit pushed the federal government to take a serious second look at its northern education policy. Geographer J.L. Robinson was assigned to investigate complaints about conditions in the Eastern Arctic. Robinson’s recommendations, issued in 1943, noted a severe lack of education infrastructure for eastern Inuit, a lack of proper medical care and a serious decline in Caribou populations as combining to seriously affect Inuit quality of life in the region. Robinson recommended that the government mediate the “contact between the native and the inevitable approaching civilization,” and, as Quinn Duffy argues, framed the dilemma that successive federal governments would grapple with throughout the postwar period: “the northern administration had to take steps immediately

⁵⁸⁶ Bonesteel, *Canada's Relationship with the Inuit*, 6-7.

⁵⁸⁷ Grant, *Sovereignty or Security?*, 162; Zaslow, *The Northward Expansion of Canada*, 306-312.

⁵⁸⁸ Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut*, 18. Allowances, however, were used as coercive tools to force parents to enrol their children in federal schools. See Raymond Blake, *From Rights to Needs: a History of Family Allowances in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 140-145.

either to preserve what remained of Inuit culture or to prepare the people for further advances of the white man.”⁵⁸⁹

The question of whether federal education policy should seek to “preserve” indigenous cultures or “prepare the people for further advances of the white man” would shape successive policy proposals in the Canadian government. The 1947 North Pacific Planning Project spelled out some of the government’s aims in this regard. It described the federal government’s plans for education in the North:

The educational system in the northern territories that are under Dominion administration is being reviewed with a view to the establishment of suitable, specially equipped schools under direct Government control with a curriculum better suited to the practical needs of the native population. The plan is primarily directed to the preservation and development of the native culture to the end that these Canadians of the Northland, proud of their race and ancestry, no longer wards of the State, may become upstanding citizens of the Dominion of Canada.⁵⁹⁰

This new direction in policy was backed with investment in intellectual and physical infrastructure for northern schooling. In May of 1947, the Northwest Territories Council, under the chairmanship of Hugh Keenleyside, decided that “as a matter of future policy, the Northwest Territories Administration would try and get the funds for the erection of new schools rather than ask the missions to bear this expense.”⁵⁹¹ In 1952 the Northern Administration Division of the Department of Mines and Resources created a sub-committee on Eskimo Education to manage the extension of education amongst the Inuit in the North. The sub-committee often debated, much as other government departments, the future of Inuit life in the North. The committee’s discussions of what the goal of Inuit education should be centred around the question of whether

⁵⁸⁹ Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut*, 16-17.

⁵⁹⁰ *Canada’s New North-West: Report of the North Pacific Planning Project* (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1947), 7. Grant asserts that it was likely Hugh Keenleyside who gave the report this activist bent as he had taken over as Deputy Minister of Mines and Resources and Commissioner of the Northwest Territories Council shortly before the publication of the report that year, Grant, *Sovereignty or Security?*, 146-148, 165-166.

⁵⁹¹ Quoted in Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut*, 98.

or not ‘traditional’ Inuit lifestyles could survive the increasingly pervasive presence of southern economic influence:

Eskimos should not be permitted to remain illiterate even though their economy may be largely restricted to hunting, fishing and trapping [...]. They should be furnished with the degree and kind of education which will enable them to live a fuller life in their own environment and at the same time to be able to take advantage of opportunities which may arise from the encroachment of outside civilization.⁵⁹²

As government officials wrestled with the complicated issue of integration versus preservation of Inuit and Aboriginal culture, a wave of school building began in the North. Churches saw their government funding slowly cut off and their role limited to running the hostels for federal schools and providing special religious education classes. As part of a more integrative approach to northern education, “welfare teachers” – teachers with a background in social work – were hired for 12 month periods and were expected to “conduct classes, initiate community programmes, provide assistance to distressed individuals or families, and, at the same time, to work closely with local health authorities,” in local communities.⁵⁹³

It is in this context of increased focus on the education and economic future of the Inuit that the Boy Scouts and the federal government renewed discussions of expanding Scouting in a more structured manner in the North. Shortly after Hugh Keenleyside was appointed the Deputy Minister and Commissioner of the Northwest Territories in the spring of 1947, his department initiated discussions with the Scout Association about expanding Scouting’s involvement in the North. After meeting with officials from the department, Scout Executive Commissioner Major-General Dan Spry offered that Scouting could contribute to “the future development of community life in the Northwest Territories.”⁵⁹⁴ Earlier that year, the Association had sent one of

⁵⁹² Quoted in Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut*, 99.

⁵⁹³ Grant, *Sovereignty or Security?*, 200; Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut*, 100.

⁵⁹⁴ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A, Volume 231, File: 660-7, Part 1, Boy Scouts Association, 1940-1951, Spry to Keenleyside, October 21, 1947.

their paid officers on a study tour of the North to encourage the expansion of the movement, and Spry proposed that they would be prepared to send an officer north every year to “contact and encourage local authorities,” as well as providing “books and pamphlets, correspondence courses for leaders, magazines for leaders and older boys, prepared Scout radio programmes and films of both a training and informative nature.” Spry suggested that, while their interest in expanding in the North was of a “‘missionary’ nature,” and that they were willing to assume some of the costs, “should Scouting develop to any extent in the territories it might be necessary to obtain some additional financial support.”⁵⁹⁵ Keenleyside assured Spry of the government’s “sympathetic and indeed enthusiastic co-operation” in the matter.⁵⁹⁶

Scouting’s expansion into the North was integrated into a more general expansion of government education efforts in Canada’s North. Departmental officials provided the Scout Association with lists of all northern schools and contact information of school principals in the Mackenzie District in 1947, noting that the list would be “extended from time to time, as we are embarking upon a major school building program in 1948-1949.”⁵⁹⁷ Scouting officials then contacted school principals and teachers throughout the fall, explaining the Scout program’s ability to teach “boys how to live, as well as how to make a living. The Scout programme endeavours to replace Self with Service, to make boys individually efficient, morally and physically, with the object of using that efficiency for the service of the community.”⁵⁹⁸ These outreach messages were likely very similar to promotional material sent to teachers in the southern parts of the country. One passage in particular is tellingly vague in this regard:

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁶ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A , Volume 231, File: 660-7, Part 1, Boy Scouts Association, 1940-1951, Keenleyside to Spry, October 27, 1947.

⁵⁹⁷ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A , Volume 231, File: 660-7, Part 1, Boy Scouts Association, 1940-1951, J.W. McKinnon to Albert Beattie, Boy Scouts Association, October 24, 1947.

⁵⁹⁸ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A , Volume 231, File: 660-7, Part 1, Boy Scouts Association, 1940-1951, E.F. Mills, Executive Commissioner for Training (BSA), to Reverend Sister Cecile Caron, Principal, Roman Catholic Day School, Fort Simpson, Northwest Territories, October 30, 1947.

Canada will need good and efficient citizens to face the problems of to-morrow. They will need the advantages of every possible training they can get. The Boy Scouts Association invites you, as a teacher, to give your boys the benefit of the Scout training. It is a programme which they really like because basically Scouting is a game and boys enjoy playing games [...] Whatever you do to help Scouting extend its benefits to your boys, will be appreciated not only by those boys, especially in later years, but also by a grateful country. You will have moulded better citizens and have contributed to a better world.⁵⁹⁹

Such communications did draw on the movement's history in explaining why it was well suited to the North. Scouting, they argued, had been successful on the "frontiers of civilization because its programme was particularly adapted to these areas. We believe it can make a valuable contribution to the future citizens of Canada's Northland if used intelligently."⁶⁰⁰

The belief that the Scout program had inherently useful teachings for indigenous boys in Canada's North permeated the early reports of the movement's field agents sent on yearly tours to promote expansion and help with training of new leaders. Harry Holloway, Executive Commissioner for the Alberta Provincial Council, was the Scout official sent on these tours throughout the late 1940s. After his 1948 tour, for instance, Holloway reported that many communities would only be able to truly support Scouting once the federal government had completed the construction of planned schools. As an extracurricular activity, Holloway argued that Scouting had much to offer in these communities:

Everywhere we were most courteously received, and there would appear to be a growing awareness of the need for a programme to assist in the development of the Indian and Metis boys and girls [...] Scouting would probably greatly help the youth of the community, particularly those in the Residence Schools, through the stress on special outdoor Scouting skills and practices which would assist them in their trapping and hunting when they have returned to their homes.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁰ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A , Volume 231, File: 660-7, Part 1, Boy Scouts Association, 1940-1951, Beattie to McKinnon, October 30, 1947.

⁶⁰¹ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A , Volume 231, File: 660-7, Part 1, Boy Scouts Association, 1940-1951, Report on Field Trip in the North West Territories of Miss Beth Riddock, the Girl Guides Association, and Mr. Harry Holloway, of the Boy Scouts Association, October 6, 1948.

Holloway did not distinguish between “Indian” or “Eskimo” in his report, though he did note that “study must be given to the Scouting programme as it is put into effect in the different places in the North...where Scouting may help certain boys retain their outdoor skills, other boys may need other activities such as handicraft, woodwork, etc., to interest them in the programme.”⁶⁰²

Holloway’s observation about the need for separate focuses for individual communities also reflected the initial ambiguity about whether or not northern Aboriginals and Inuit should or could be encouraged to maintain elements of their culture and lifestyle such as hunting and trapping, while also training them for more modern economic pursuits. In 1950, for instance, a northern Scout representative, H.C. Northcott, expressed frustration with the inability of Scouting to make serious inroads because leaders had to wait for boys to be taught how “to talk English before hoping to accomplish anything in the Scout program,” and that too often “the Indians take their children with them when they go trapping, so that the boy not only misses Scouting, but is missing schooling besides.” He hoped that the government would speed up the construction of schools and hostels in order to be able to continue to teach the boys while parents were away hunting or on the trap lines.⁶⁰³

The 1951 field tour report contained a controversial, but telling, blend of the debate between assimilation and protection of traditional skills. Conducted by Field Commissioner Paul Krueger, the tour was framed more bluntly than any previous efforts, which resulted in a backlash both from government officials and Scout volunteers in the North. Krueger blamed Scouting’s lukewarm success on what he saw as religious rivalries, weak leadership, and unstable community life. Krueger blamed a “long standing religious feud,” between Anglicans and Catholics for blocking the growth of Scouting in Fort Chipewyan, while at Fort Smith he

⁶⁰² Ibid.

⁶⁰³ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A , Volume 231, File: 660-7, Part 1, Boy Scouts Association, 1940-1951, Field Report, Field Trip of the Northwest Territories, March 30, 1950.

claimed that Bishop Trocellier did not allow Catholic boys from the mission to attend. The existing troop there was a mixed one and he remarked that “it is quite an experience to see white, breed and Indian boys doing Scouting as a group and still following individual interests.”⁶⁰⁴

Krueger praised the local RCMP constable running the troop, who had separated the group into sections, with the “white and some of the breed (sic) boys [...] practising [sic] signalling, lashing and first aid like boys in any normal Troop, his native boys were concentrating on tumbling and carving, things which seem to really appeal to all native boys in this area.” The Yellowknife Scouts, meanwhile, were portrayed as “hard working” and “well advanced” and “more of a normal group than any other in the north.” In Tuktoyuktok, however, Krueger described the troop of Inuit Scouts as a group of “Huskies” and noted that they “looked quite smart” in their uniforms. “The Husky, or Eskimo” he claimed, “seems to be an entirely different type than the Indian and takes to conventional Scouting much better.”⁶⁰⁵

Krueger concluded by arguing that the “average citizen’s” idea of going North to make “money in the shortest possible time and then getting out” made it difficult to provide stable leadership for Scouting. He also conceded that HBC employees, RCMP officers and clergy “are extremely busy” and should not be expected to take on the burden of running Scout groups, even though many did. Instead, he recommended making greater use of federal welfare teachers, even recruiting only those who “are interested and prepared to spend extra time on young people’s activities.” Finally, he provided his own assessment of what northern communities needed:

It is really hard to keep any group of boys together for any length of time. The mission schools would overcome this difficulty but on the other hand they are not preparing the boy for the way of life of his ancestors, which is about the only way he will be able to earn a living. The new government schools have not yet proven themselves. What I feel they need is not Alberta's curriculum but a special one of their own. Then the children

⁶⁰⁴ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A , Volume 231, File: 660-7, Part 1, Boy Scouts Association, 1940-1951, Report of 1951 N.W.T. trip, April 17, 1951.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid.

could attend school during the summer when their parents are at the posts, but accompany them to the trap lines and fishing grounds in fall and winter. In this way they could learn the way of life they will have to lead, and still be educated to improve it in every way possible. Scouting would then be carried on while they attend school in summer. While the Scout program must be greatly modified in most cases, the basic aim of creating better citizens remains the same.⁶⁰⁶

Krueger's tour, as well as his report, generated considerable backlash. Fort Norman (which Krueger had described as "a ghost town" lacking leadership⁶⁰⁷) welfare teacher C.V. Coyle wrote to the Superintendent of Education for Mackenzie District to complain about Krueger's whirlwind visit of a few hours and opined that "his judgements show too well they are based on hearsay rather than on any original research of his own. There are many people here with leadership abilities but feel that at present we cannot give the Indians anything in scouting they do not receive at school."⁶⁰⁸ The Superintendent for Education for the Mackenzie District, J.V. Jacobson, decided to block the report from circulating among northern communities, mostly due to its "harsh" discussion of religious tensions.⁶⁰⁹

After Paul Krueger's controversial report, the Scout Association appointed a new executive officer to manage its affairs in the North. Charles Matkin, a Mormon farmer from Magrath, Alberta, who had served in numerous capacities in the Alberta Provincial Council, notably as District Commissioner and Assistant Provincial Commissioner, occupied the position throughout the most of the 1950s.⁶¹⁰ In notifying federal officials about the change in staffing, Scout officials noted that Matkin's religious and professional background might be an "added

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁸ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A , Volume 231, File: 660-7, Part 1, Boy Scouts Association, 1940-1951, C.V. Coyle to Superintendent of Education, Mackenzie District, June 14, 1951.

⁶⁰⁹ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A , Volume 231, File: 660-7, Part 2, Boy Scouts Association, 1951-1954, J.V. Jacobson to Harry Holloway, Executive Commissioner for Alberta, December 22, 1951.

⁶¹⁰ Glenbow Museum and Archives, Charles Ursenbach fonds and Oral Histories, M-7203 File # 88 – Charles Samuel Matkin, Transcript of Interview, July 18, 1975.

advantage” given prior difficulties in the post.⁶¹¹ Matkin couched his northern tour reports in much more optimistic language, though he often made similarly racialized observations about the movement’s growth and success in the North. Mixed or indigenous troops that received Matkin’s praise were often complimented for being well uniformed or disciplined. The Aklavik Scouts and Cubs, for instance, received praise in 1952 for looking “good in their uniforms,” and seeming “very conscious and proud of the same,” while Yellowknife children in the movement were described as “the most normal group in the Territories, due of course to the white population,” and praised for their level of organization and the range of activities organized for them by their parent committee.⁶¹²

His reports frequently connected the presence of a school, either a federal day school or residential one, as a key to a successful environment for troops and packs. After visiting Coppermine in 1954, for instance, Matkin lamented that poor English skills made it hard to teach the children the Scouting program and that, because the school was only a day school, it was “hard to teach them when they have to return to their native homes at night.”⁶¹³ In 1955, meanwhile, Matkin commented that the prospects for the movement in Fort Rae were not good as there were only 2 white boys in the community and that “the other students are Indians and none are very literate. If a Resident School is established they should then have the programme. It is needed here.”⁶¹⁴ Implicit in these complaints is the notion that indigenous cultures, both in the form of language and practices, kept the boys from being able to ‘benefit’ from Scouting. Only the structure and environment of residential schools and full white involvement (be it from

⁶¹¹ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A , Volume 231, File: 660-7, Part 2, Boy Scouts Association, 1951-1954, Currier to Grantham, January 16, 1952.

⁶¹² LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A , Volume 231, File: 660-7, Part 2, Boy Scouts Association, 1951-1954, “Report on 1952 N.W.T. Trip,” April 21, 1952.

⁶¹³ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A , Volume 404, File 660-7, Part 3, Boy Scouts Association, 1954-1955, Report on Northwest Territories Trip, March 11-24 1954.

⁶¹⁴ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a, Volume 547, File:660-7, Part 4.1, Boy Scouts Association, 1956/01-1957/01, “Report on Northwest Territories Trip March 12-25, 1955.”

the RCMP, religious missionary or federal day school teacher) seemed to offer any real prospect for progress in Matkin's reports.

This tacit approval of troops which received full support from the white community is more evident in some of Matkin's praise. His return to Aklavik in 1955 sparked a particularly effusive commentary about the movement's growth there. Praising both the Catholic and Anglican missionaries working in the community, Matkin remarked:

This troop is fully uniformed and just as smart both in appearance and manner as one will find any place [...] I was welcomed in four different languages; English, Eskimo, Slavey and Louchioux; also I was presented with an oil painting 14" by 16" of Baden Powell done by a 15-year old Eskimo Scout, Frank Rivet...Their Troop flag is a thing of beauty as it was made entirely by the Sisters in the Mission. Their Scout room was decorated with many Scout emblems.⁶¹⁵

Though he was impressed by the linguistic diversity in the troop at Aklavik, English remained the key to the operation of the troop, and Matkin highlighted the dominance of Scout accoutrements and the boys' knowledge of Scouting's founder as symbolic of the movement's growth and success. A year later, Matkin again praised the visible improvement of the Aklavik boys' discipline:

I have nothing but praise for this group and its leaders. The discipline was wonderful, they were smartly uniformed and their marching and deportment was excellent. While their programme deviated somewhat, what was done was excellent training for the native children. Their pledge to the flag, their promise and laws were recited in unison as a six, they also knew much about them, individually as well as in the group.⁶¹⁶

At Tuktoyaktuk, meanwhile, Matkin praised local Anglican school teacher Dorothy Robinson's work in creating a joint Scout-Guide company at the federal day school at the movement's "most Northerly outpost on the shore of the Arctic Ocean." While there he also distributed new uniforms to the boys, donated by a United Church group from Edmonton. After

⁶¹⁵ Ibid.

⁶¹⁶ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 4, Folder 12, Minutes, Executive Committee of Canadian General Council, 1956, Meeting held in London, ON, October 26 and 27, 1956, "Report of Trip to North-West Territories, June 5 - July 8 1956."

returning from the tour, Matkin reported back to the Edmonton Scout group about how their charity had helped northern Scouts. First, however, he had to point out to the boys where Tuktoyaktuk was on a map, and then described “the conditions there,” in order to help them understand the challenges they faced.⁶¹⁷

Matkin was not alone in emphasizing the need for white leadership in the success of Scouting’s expansion into Canada’s Northwest Territories in the 1950s. In 1957, Chief Scout Executive Commissioner Fred J. Finlay joined Matkin on his annual tour of the territories. His report, while more exuberantly descriptive of the environment – both natural and industrial (he marvelled at the construction of a new town site for Aklavik, which eventually became Inuvik, for instance) than that filed by Matkin, used much of the same language to evaluate which troops and packs were doing well. Though Finlay wondered “whether the boys were getting really much fun” out of the same strictly-run troop in Aklavik which Matkin had praised, Finlay came to a similar conclusion, for instance, when he pointed out that the local community in Fort Rae was “very slow to learn English and are obviously not yet ready for the Cub and Scout programmes.”⁶¹⁸ Finlay also noted that the Scouts and Cubs at the Catholic mission school in Fort Vermillion were “smartly turned out in new uniforms.” Finlay even went so far as to recommend that southern troops increase their donations of uniforms, badges, and other Scouting paraphernalia to “give them a real sense of belonging” in the movement.⁶¹⁹

The uniform and other symbols of Scouting, along with English, thus became a tool for Scout officials, and the Northern Affairs officials who supported the movement, in their attempt to blur linguistic and cultural differences between the indigenous populations of the North.

⁶¹⁷ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a, Volume 547, File:660-7, Part 4.1, Boy Scouts Association, 1956/01-1957/01, Report on Northwest Territories Trip March 12-25, 1955.

⁶¹⁸ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 3, Northern Scouting, Northwest Territories - Reports, Troop Formation, 1955-1958, Report on a trip to the Northwest Territories, June 10, 1957.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid.

Unlike Matkin, Finlay did not make even a token suggestion that the movement should adapt its program to suit the climactic and cultural realities of the North. Instead, he lamented the instability of the white population of the North, recommending that white community leaders should make a more concerted effort to create group committees in communities in order to ensure stability should a Cub or Scout leader move out of the community.⁶²⁰ Scout officials' concern with the "smartness" of uniforms and overall neat appearance was part of a larger emphasis that the movement placed on the uniform and outward signs of adherence to Scouting's ideals. Historians of symbolic practices of power such as the "geography of dress" – a semiotic analysis of the power and resistance both embodied and expressed by clothing in regional, racial, religious, class-based and gendered contexts - have noted that clothing, particularly in the form of a uniform, has the power to "operate as instruments of transformation, ways of reconstituting the social and political world."⁶²¹ In the context of Scouting, historians of the Scout and Guide movements have argued that the uniform had the power to inscribe difference, be it of race, nationality, class, gender or religion, while simultaneously encouraging the appearance of unity.⁶²² Further, the uniform itself could become a site of resistance or control in a colonial context, a symbol of western affluence or adaptation that could embody "identities that could be put on and off as the situation allowed."⁶²³

In this case, a neat, "smartly" worn uniform symbolized the beginnings (in the minds of Scout officials) of indigenous communities' membership in the Scout brotherhood. Praise heaped on Aboriginal and Inuit Scout groups for discipline, neatness and "smartness" in their uniform

⁶²⁰ Ibid.

⁶²¹ Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995)

⁶²² Tammy Proctor, "Scouts, Guides, and the Fashioning of Empire, 1919-1939," in *Fashioning the Body Politic: Dress, Gender, Citizenship*, ed. Wendy Perkins (New York: Berg, 2002), 125-144.

⁶²³ Timothy H. Parsons, *Race, Resistance and the Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2004), 23.

reveals a racialized understanding of white and Aboriginal boys' abilities to fully embrace the Scout ethos. White Scouts within mixed troops, or wholly white groups in communities like Yellowknife were often praised for more advanced skills and accomplishments, revealing a racial double standard, at least in Scout officials' belief in the ability of Inuit and Aboriginal boys to succeed in the movement. Success, in this case, was tied to the ability of the movement to provide visible signs that the program was succeeding, in the words of Finlay, in encouraging the "inculcation of good habits and discipline, and [which] directs the employment of leisure hours to useful purposes. Nowhere is the partnership of Scout with the School and Church more necessary or more in evidence than in the North West Territories."⁶²⁴ A clean and tidy uniform and overall "smartness" seems to have been sufficient evidence of success in the early postwar years.

Matkin's tours were funded as part of the federal government's limited support of Scouting's growth in the Northwest Territories during the early postwar period. By 1949, however, Superintendent of schools J.W. McKinnon noted that the government was "most anxious to have an active Boy Scout group functioning in every centre in the Northwest Territories."⁶²⁵ In 1950 the Northwest Territories Council backed up this cooperation with financial backing in the form of an annual grant, largely to support Matkin's annual tours.⁶²⁶ By 1955, the recently created Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources had stepped up its commitment to building schools and improving education in the North. The minister of the new department, Jean Lesage, penned what has often been called the defining piece of postwar federal northern education policy in an article in *The Beaver* magazine in the Spring of 1955.

⁶²⁴ F.J. Finlay, "Editorial," *The Scout Leader*, May, 1957, 17.

⁶²⁵ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A, Volume 231, File: 660-7, Part 1, Boy Scouts Association, 1940-1951, McKinnon to Currier, March 9, 1949.

⁶²⁶ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A, Volume 231, File: 660-7, Part 1, Boy Scouts Association, 1940-1951, Keenleyside to Currier, March 7, 1950.

Lesage argued that, “for reasons which are political, scientific and strategic, for reasons which are likely some day to be economic, we are being drawn to the farthest reaches of our territory. The development of these lands will require the assistance of their oldest residents.”⁶²⁷ This increased contact, he argued, would inevitably transform Inuit life. It was thus a “moral responsibility” for the government to help with this transition:

The objective of Government policy is relatively easy to define. It is to give the Eskimos the same rights, privileges, opportunities, and responsibilities as all other Canadians; in short, to enable them to share fully the national life of Canada. It is pointless to consider whether the Eskimo was happier before the white man came, for the white man has come and time cannot be reversed. The only realistic approach is to accept the fact that the Eskimo will be brought ever more under the influences of civilization to the south. The task, then, is to help him adjust his life and his thoughts to all that encroachment of this new life must mean. In some places the encroachment has been slight. For those who can continue in the native way of life successfully – or can follow it more successfully than any other – little change may be necessary or desirable, so long as that condition lasts. Adjustment to our way of life must be related in character, time, and degree to the developing situation in each area, provided it is made quite clear that adjustment does not mean the loss of the identity of the Eskimos’ culture.⁶²⁸

Lesage’s final words about the need to be adaptable in this application of government education objectives reflect the mixed policy objectives of the federal government. While some regions and communities were seen as irretrievably caught up in the march of modernization and change, others were deemed to be destined to remain largely isolated and, therefore, dependent on more traditional economic activity. One Northern Affairs report a year earlier had perhaps put it in a most succinct, if still patronizing form, when it proposed to help Inuit not just to fit “into the pattern of the white man’s way of life but to help them become better Indians and Eskimos.”⁶²⁹

It is in this context that Matkin conducted his study tours. This context is also particularly important because in 1955, the same year that the federal government announced an increased commitment to health and education in the North, the Boy Scout Association decided to begin

⁶²⁷ Jean Lesage, “Enter the European part V: Among the Eskimos” *The Beaver*, Spring, 1955, 6-7.

⁶²⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁶²⁹ Quoted in Milloy, *A National Crime*, 250.

increasing its own involvement in the North. After his spring tour of the territories, Matkin created an informal Northwest Territories Council to help guide the development of Scouting in the territories. Chaired by W.G. Devitt, Superintendent of Schools for the territories, the committee also included Evan Essex of Fort Smith, Chief Game Warden for the territories, Mr. John Gilbery, of Fort Simpson, Superintendant of the Dominion Experimental Farm, Oblate Father Benami from Aklavik, and Rev. Cannon Gibson, also from Aklavik.⁶³⁰ Though it does not appear that this committee ever actually physically met, it was intended to act as an advisory body, particularly on potential revisions to Scouting program standards to adapt it to northern conditions.

Beyond assembling a group of interested civil servants, religious leaders and others living in the North, Matkin also generated interest in sending northern boys to the 1955 World Jamboree, held at Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, as part of the larger host Canadian delegation.⁶³¹ Northern Affairs, the Canadian Legion in Aklavik, Imperial Oil, Associated Airways, as well as community councils in Hay River and Fort Simpson all expressed willingness to provide financial support for sending an equal number of “Indian, Eskimo and White” Scouts from the North to the Jamboree.⁶³² The Aklavik Branch of the Legion provided a particularly enthusiastic endorsement of the idea:

Our Branch feels that any and every effort possible should be made to get these boys to the Jamboree. The work done by Scoutmaster Cripps, Father Benami and Canon Gibson has had truly remarkable results when it is remembered that these youngsters are, in many cases, born to the stone age era of civilization. As a result of the efforts of their leaders and themselves, they are a real credit to their race and their community [...] Any lad with a month or two of Scout training is recognizable in a public place by his deportment and behaviour, even when no uniform or insignia is worn. They are smart

⁶³⁰ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 3, Northern Scouting, Northwest Territories - reports, Troop Formation, 1955-1958, Matkin to Finlay, April 2, 1955.

⁶³¹ Ibid.

⁶³² Ibid.

appearing, they are much cleaner than most other lads in their age group, they move alertly and are away (sic) above average in courtesy and good manners.⁶³³

The Aklavik Legion Branch President also noted that such efforts were critical in the effort to combat Communism in a region where “we are able to get, usually, only Russian stations on the radio. They are always on the air and would certainly have an adverse effect on the young folks' thinking if not counteracted.”⁶³⁴ More importantly, the opportunity to travel to such a modern locale was not to be missed, “As you know, most native people in this area have never seen farm animals, trains, television and hundreds of other things that are commonplace outside. These lads will learn a little of all these things and many others and come back and spread their knowledge.”⁶³⁵ The Department of Northern Affairs echoed these sentiments in a press release issued shortly before the Jamboree:

A number of far-northern Canadian youngsters who have never seen street cars, trains or television have a few surprises in store for them when they attend the World Scout Jamboree at Niagara-on-the-Lake in August. The youngsters, all scouts from the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, will represent the Boy Scout movement in Canada's most northern communities.⁶³⁶

Like the efforts to bring southern Canadian Boy Scouts to the North in the 1930s, the initiative of bringing northern boys to Niagara was based on bringing “the frontier” home to Canadian boys. It was also tied to broader strategies for modernizing the North and its indigenous communities through direct contact with the modern south, a concept of exchange and of the importance of “experiencing the North” that would come to shape Canadian Scouting and government youth policy throughout the 1960s, which will be explored in subsequent chapters.

⁶³³ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 3, Northern Scouting, Northwest Territories - reports, Troop Formation, 1955-1958, A.F. Wallace to Matkin, no date.

⁶³⁴ Ibid.

⁶³⁵ Ibid.

⁶³⁶ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A, Volume 404, File 660-7, Part 3, Boy Scouts Association, 1954-1955, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Editorial and Information Division, Press Release, July 13, 1955.

Conclusion - “Too little for the task”

By the mid-1950s Scouting was an increasingly integral part of government education plans in the North. In the words of one official, “Guiding and Scouting are becoming a definite part of the life of the children in the settlements and communities of the North. It is hoped that the children will be better citizens because of their membership in these organizations.”⁶³⁷ The Chief of the Education Division of Northern Affairs reiterated the government’s support of the movement:

In a few years time, the boys and girls you have as Scouts and Guides will be adult citizens of Canada. If, by example, through fun and adventure in Scouting they have learned about the need to look after their natural heritage, they will exert a considerable influence for good which will be accumulative and of immeasurable value to the future well-being of our people and perhaps to the peoples of the earth.⁶³⁸

Scouting was also used in other institutional settings. The Department of Indian Affairs played a critical role in financing and supporting the creation of Scout troops and Cub packs in southern hospitals, such as the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital in Edmonton, where many Inuit and Indian youth spent weeks or even months in tuberculosis wards. Government officials felt that Scouting could provide a supplement to education efforts in the hospitals as well as improving the more general “sociological welfare of the children.”⁶³⁹

⁶³⁷ Quoted in LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a, Volume 547, File:660-7, Part 4.1, Boy Scouts Association, 1956/01-1957/01, Jacobson to W.G Devitt, RE: Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, August 29, 1956.

⁶³⁸ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a, Volume 547, File:660-7, Part 4.2, Boy Scouts Association, 1957, Memorandum to all teachers in the Eastern Arctic, March 22, 1957.

⁶³⁹ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A, Volume 404, File 660-7, Part 3, Boy Scouts Association, 1954-1955, Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources to the Treasury Board, April 22, 1954. Funding for these troops ultimately ended up coming from the Department of Indian Affairs; LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-A, Volume 404, File 660-7, Part 3, Boy Scouts Association, 1954-1955, Memorandum for the Deputy Minister, by F.J.G Cunningham, May 17, 1954. For more on the history of medical relocations and the treatment of tuberculosis in northern communities, see P.S. Grygier, *A Long Way From Home: The Tuberculosis Epidemic Among the Inuit* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994); Frank Tester, James McNicoll and Peter Irniq, “Writing for Our Lives: The Language of Homesickness, Self-Esteem, and the Inuit TB ‘epidemic’,” *Études Inuit Studies* 25, 1-2 (2001), 121-140; Frank Tester and Peter Kulchyski, *Taamarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocations in the Eastern Arctic, 1939-1963* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994).

Scout officials and government agents gave little thought as to how the dual objectives of “making better Indians and Eskimos” while simultaneously making better Canadians could be achieved through the movement, more particularly whether the program needed to be adapted. This changed, however, in the summer of 1957 when John Cairns, the Assistant Superintendant of Schools for the Department of Northern Affairs, accompanied Scout officials on their annual northern tour. His report painted a sceptical picture of the movement’s popularity in the North, arguing that the “present efforts, while commendable, are just too little for the task.”⁶⁴⁰ Cairns noted that there was little continuity in the movement’s presence in the region or real support to those involved in running troops and packs in northern communities. Though he was concerned with the movement’s instability, Cairns affirmed the Department’s general support of Scouting:

We are constantly being reminded by critics of our Indian and Eskimo schools that our emphasis on the basic fields of English and Mathematics robs the child of his or her native background and ability to cope with his natural environment. Here, then, made to order, are programs already outlined, which can fill many of our 'gaps' in 'play hours' in a 'play way' and leave our classroom hours more free for concentration on these basic skills. It is therefore my firm belief that as Educationists in our type of school system, we should be placing greater emphasis on ensuring that such programs are under way. These movements have the added advantage that they have been approved for use by all the religious groups we encounter and so offer opportunities for bringing all our pupils together in this field.⁶⁴¹

If the federal government was serious about supporting the movement’s growth in the North, Cairns argued, a number of changes needed to be made. First, the territories needed to be treated as a unique region and not as an extension of the provinces, both in the movement’s administrative structure and its program. Moreover, Cairns proposed that the program should be adapted to reflect differences in geography and culture in the North by developing special Northern badges. He ended by suggesting that a separate northern Scouting committee should be

⁶⁴⁰ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a, Volume 547, File:660-7, Part 4.2, Boy Scouts Association, 1957, Report of Scout study trip to the North, April 17, 1957.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid.

formed to oversee the movement's operations in the North and that, if the Boy Scout Association was not prepared to take on such an expanded role, "perhaps we should be taking the lead officially to see to its implementation."⁶⁴²

Written during the lead up to the election of 1957, which ushered in a new federal government under John Diefenbaker's Progressive Conservatives, the Cairns memo marked an important reconsideration of the relationship between the federal government and the Boy Scout Association. Diefenbaker's election campaign was marked by a pronounced emphasis on northern expansion as part of a new "National Policy" for the twentieth century. In the coming years, both Scouting and the federal government would ramp up efforts to promote Scouting in the Canadian North. Up until that point, however, the Scout Association and the federal government had partnered on a more informal basis. The interwar period policy of "benign neglect" of the North by the federal government mirrored that of the Boy Scout Association. Scout groups in the North remained largely isolated in residential schools and a few communities, where missionaries and local RCMP officers volunteered their time in efforts to supplement mission school efforts in providing civilizing and Christianizing support to Inuit and Aboriginal boys. The Scout program remained largely unchanged in its initial expansion in the North as evaluations and arguments about the success of these efforts focused on the outward signs of adherence to the movement in uniform and discipline.

The Scout movement was part of a larger project of colonial rule of the North during the interwar period. Though supporters spoke of potential benefits in preserving certain indigenous cultural and economic practices like hunting and trapping, Scouting was largely a means to bring Aboriginal boys into activities which conformed with white Canadian conceptions of community leadership, discipline and cultural literacy. Scouts from southern Canada, meanwhile, were

⁶⁴² Ibid.

meant to experience the North and its masculine work, simultaneously providing another “frontier” for the movement’s expansion. Short-lived experiments in sending selected Boy Scouts on northern supply and patrol voyages of HBC and Catholic missionary vessels offered both a potential recruiting possibility for these organizations while cementing the Boy Scouts’ pride of place amongst the more traditional symbols of masculinity on the frontier of the Canadian nationalist imagination, the HBC and the RCMP.

The unofficial policy of “benign neglect” of the North by the federal government ended with the outbreak of the Second World War and the Supreme Court’s *re Eskimo* ruling in 1939. Postwar welfare policies, coupled with a new commitment, and legal obligation, from the federal government to improve the health and education services available to northern Aboriginals, spurred unprecedented institutional growth on both of these fronts in the North throughout the 1940s and 1950s. Expanding bureaucratic structures in the Department of Northern Affairs brought increasing bureaucratic focus on the economic and cultural future of Canada’s northern indigenous communities. Aware of the pitfalls of some of the previous Aboriginal education efforts in southern regions of the country, Northern Affairs education officials vacillated between policies of integrating Inuit and Aboriginals into a northern wage economy, or trying to protect their culture and livelihoods from encroaching industrialization. Rarely did this discussion move beyond the theoretical, however, as the Scout movement remained largely unchanged in its operations in the region until the late 1950s. The election of John Diefenbaker in June of 1957, coupled with internal discussion within the Department of Northern Affairs over future support for Scouting, would spur a new commitment to the movement in the early 1960s by government and Scout leaders, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Chapter Five: To Live Like White Men and Like “Eskimos”?:

Northern Scouting in the 1960s

The election of John Diefenbaker’s Progressive Conservatives in 1957, first as a minority government, then, after a snap election called just nine months later for March 1958, as a massive majority, marked a renewed political commitment to expansion and progress in the North. Diefenbaker’s election stump speeches in the second campaign often highlighted his “Northern Vision”: a call for a focused, aggressive expansion of industry and transportation networks. Diefenbaker invoked the spirit of John A. Macdonald’s National Policy of the late nineteenth century in a speech to a crowd in Winnipeg’s Civic Auditorium. After lauding the National Policy for launching Canada forward, Diefenbaker proposed a “A new vision! A new hope! A new soul for Canada,” going on to connect this vision to northern development: “There is a new imagination now. The Arctic. We intend to carry out the legislative programme of Arctic research, to develop Arctic routes, to develop those vast hidden resources the last few years have revealed.”⁶⁴³

Diefenbaker’s vision for the North was symptomatic of a more general view that scientific knowledge and technological progress would be the keys to Canada’s future development and expansion. Though many of his ambitions went unrealized, future Liberal governments approached northern development with similar optimism.⁶⁴⁴ This belief in the power of science and rational planning was a hallmark of high modernism. James Scott, in his landmark work on the expansion of the state, defines high modernism as “a strong, one might even say muscle-bound, version of the self-confidence about scientific and technical progress,

⁶⁴³ “A New Vision” speech by John G. Diefenbaker at the Civic Auditorium, Winnipeg, 12 February 1958, <http://byers.typepad.com/arctic/2009/03/john-diefenbakers-northern-vision.html> (accessed January 9, 2012).

⁶⁴⁴ For more on the Diefenbaker governments’ efforts in the Arctic, see Philip Isard, “Northern Vision: Northern Development during the Diefenbaker Era,” (MA Thesis: University of Waterloo, 2010).

the expansion of production, the growing satisfaction of human needs, the mastery of nature (including human nature), and above all, the rational design of social order commensurate with the scientific understanding of natural laws.”⁶⁴⁵ High modernist ideals permeated government planning and intervention in the lives of northern Aboriginals and Inuit during the postwar period. As Frank Tester and Peter Tulchyski argue, “Unlike Indian affairs, where a pre-welfare state employed largely coercive measures, in Inuit affairs it was a liberal form of welfare state, which gave the appearance having a more benign face and which employed a greater reliance on ideology, that became the means for attempting assimilation.”⁶⁴⁶

Scholars of the Arctic have pointed to high modernist thinking as a key driver of a variety of northern government policies, including the forced relocations of Inuit populations for purposes both political and humanitarian (the two often were inextricably linked in the minds of government bureaucrats, and had disastrous consequences for the relocated communities)⁶⁴⁷, the development of a centralized program of bringing northern tuberculosis patients to southern hospitals, the shift from church-run residential and day schools to a more centralized, government-controlled education policy which included larger federal day and hostel schools in the 1950s and 1960s and, finally, the construction of new, government planned communities such as Inuvik and Frobisher Bay.⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁵ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, (Yale University Press, 1998), 4.

⁶⁴⁶ Peter Kulchyski and Frank Tester, *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939–63* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1994), 4.

⁶⁴⁷ For more on the relocation issue, see; Kulchyski and Tester, *Tammarniit*; A.R. Marcus, “Out in the cold: Canada’s experimental Inuit relocation to Grise Fiord and Resolute Bay,” *Polar Record* 27, no. 163 (October 1991), 285.

⁶⁴⁸ For more on the tuberculosis crisis, see Pat Grygier, *A Long Way From Home: The Tuberculosis Epidemic Among the Inuit* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994); Frank Tester, Paule McNicoll and Peter Irniq, “Writing For Our Lives: The Language Of Homesickness, Self-Esteem And The Inuit Tb “Epidemic”,” *Etudes Inuit Studies* 25, no. 1/2 (June 2001), 121-140. For a discussion of shifts in northern education policy see Heather E. McGregor, *Inuit Education and Schools in the Eastern Arctic* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010); Peter Clancy, “The Making of Eskimo Policy in Canada, 1952-1962: The Life and Times of the Eskimo Affairs Committee,” *Arctic*, 40, 3 (September 1987), 191-197. Finally, Matthew Farish and P. Whitney Lackenbauer have written recently about the

It is in this context that Northern Affairs officials reviewed their existing education commitments in the North and questioned the rather passive support given to youth movements such as the Boy Scouts. Government investment in education soared in the late 1950s and into the 1960s as the federal government sought to bring not just basic education, but also technical and vocational training to the North. In 1958, for instance, half of the school-aged Aboriginal and Inuit population of the North was registered in a federal school; by 1968 that figure had risen to 90%. Moreover, by the late 1950s there were 3200 full time and 2000 seasonal federal employees living in the North – this to serve a population of just over 31,000.⁶⁴⁹ As some scholars have pointed out, the influx of teachers during the period, many of them with only minimal training and orientation about what to expect in the North, created new challenges, and provided an important shift in education goals as teachers began to slowly bring Aboriginal perspectives and culture into the classroom, though the process was slow and awkward, both in curriculum development and in the cross-cultural understanding of officials.⁶⁵⁰ In spite of these attempts, historian John Milloy argues that education policy in the North continued to be an “assimilationist iron hand concealed within a culturally sensitive glove based upon the assumption that the future for all in the North was a non-Aboriginal one.”⁶⁵¹

high modernist impulse in the planning and construction of both Inuvik and Frobisher Bay (now Iqaluit), “High Modernism in the Arctic: Planning Frobisher Bay and Inuvik,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (2009), 517–544.

⁶⁴⁹ William R. Morrison, *True North: The Yukon and Northwest Territories* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 1998), 154, 159.

⁶⁵⁰ Both Robert Quinn Duffy and Heather McGregor note this gap in experience and training during the period, Duffy, *The Road to Nunavut*, 107-112; McGregor, *Inuit Education*, 72-81. In recalling his experiences in Northern Affairs, former Director of the Northern Administration Branch R.A.J. Phillips observed of education policy in the early 1960s, ““We had this difficult problem of not sweeping out the past, of not treating the Eskimo background with contempt, and yet at the same time of opening a new door to them. There was a great culture clash or at least a cultural adjustment, not only on the part of the pupils learning about this strange new world – one day counting seals and walruses, and the next day counting apples and oranges – but there was also a problem of each teacher coming up and having to make that kind of adjustment,” quoted in Norman John Macpherson, ed. *Dreams and Visions: Education in the Northwest Territories from Early Days to 1984* (Yellowknife: Northwest Territories Education, 1991), 110-111.

⁶⁵¹ Milloy, *A National Crime*, 251-252.

This chapter situates the focused government and Boy Scout Association attempt to expand Scouting in the North in the 1950s and 1960s within the larger context of significant and rapid change in the North. The Girl Guides also operated in the region in this period, but their program did not undergo similar revisions for “northern” conditions; the fate of boys in the North, however, was a “problem” that seized government and Scout officials.⁶⁵² The federal government devoted more attention to extracurricular activities during this period, and also briefly debated what type of youth movement might be best suited for what they felt were pressing extracurricular needs for boys in the region. Noted Inuit anthropologist Diamond Jenness spurred this broader policy debate with a suggestion that the government shift its support to a Cadet-like military organization in the North as the best vehicle to train Inuit boys for effective participation in the northern economy. Though the government appears to have ultimately rejected his suggestion, it inspired both government and Scout officials to work towards a more aggressive expansion of Scouting in the North. Motivated by government insistence that Scouting be organized on more solid footing in the North, Scout leaders, many with experience in the region through their careers in the military, RCMP or in the federal public service, embarked on a unique effort to adapt Scouting to what they felt were northern needs.

Scouting officials, and the government agencies that supported them, attempted to create a Northern and Arctic Scout program that would protect selected elements of Inuit and Aboriginal traditions while inculcating southern-defined values of citizenship and leadership in a new generation of Aboriginal and Inuit youth. Like the “modernizing antimodernism” of southern Canadian summer camp enthusiasts, northern Scouting’s supporters worked to preserve

⁶⁵² Mary Jane McCallum explores some aspects of northern Girl Guiding, particularly camp life, Mary Jane McCallum, “To Make Good Canadians: Girl Guiding in Indian Residential Schools,” (MA thesis, Trent University, 2002), 178-180.

elements of northern indigenous cultures they felt were important while simultaneously working to prepare northern boys for modern life.⁶⁵³ Many members of the Arctic and Northern Scouting Committee believed that certain elements of northern Aboriginal and Inuit cultures should be preserved, but only to help in the transition to what they felt was the inevitable march of modernity in the North and broader Canadian citizenship. In this sense, the northern Scout program could be characterized as an “assimilating antimodernism.” These northern Canadian nationalists believed that Scouting could offer a means to preserve selected skills and traditions which would help preserve cultural elements that could fend off the development of dependence on government assistance and shape future Aboriginal leaders who would lead in a modern Canadian North more fully integrated into the broader Canadian polity. However, not all Northern Scouting supporters felt that the changes in the North were inevitable or desirable; Anglican Bishop of the Arctic Donald Marsh, for instance, lamented the rapid social and economic change sweeping the North and lobbied hard to modify the Scout program even further to use it as a mechanism to preserve northern indigenous culture rather than as a tool of assimilation. Other local Scout leaders came up with unique ways of using troop activities to try and reconnect indigenous boys with their cultures.

The irony in these efforts is that, for the most part, Arctic Scouting’s key architects did little to include Aboriginal and Inuit communities in the development of their programming. These efforts were meant to train northern boys for leadership positions in the modern North, though “leadership” in this context was based largely on white standards of male leadership,

⁶⁵³ For more on this mix of modernism and antimodernism, in the project of reconnecting with nature, see Wall, *The Nurture of Nature*; Dummitt, *The Manly Modern*; Christopher Dummitt, “Risk on the Rocks: Modernity, Manhood and Mountaineering in Postwar British Columbia,” *BC Studies* no. 141 (Spring 2004), 3-29; Ross D. Cameron, “Tom Thomson, Antimodernism, and the Ideal of Manhood,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la Société historique du Canada*, vol. 10 (1), 1999, 185-208; Lynda Jessup, “Prospectors, Bushwhackers, Painters: Antimodernism and the Group of Seven,” *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 17 (1998), 193-214; Tina Loo, “Of Moose and Men: Hunting for Masculinities in British Columbia, 1880-1939,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (September 2001): 296-320.

rather than incorporating local Aboriginal and Inuit leadership styles. As the Northwest Territories itself became an increasingly autonomous territory, eventually moving most of its governance and political structures from Ottawa to Yellowknife in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Scouting followed suit, creating a separate Northwest Territories Council. The years following this shift of governance and autonomy masked a lack of significant change in northern Scouting, however, as government and military officials continued to dominate its upper echelons and Aboriginal leadership continued to be an object of concern.

“Too little for the task”: Government and Scouting’s Partnership

As discussed earlier, John Cairns - Assistant Superintendant for Schools for the Department of Northern Affairs - described Scouting’s efforts as “too little for the task,” in a damning 1957 departmental report.⁶⁵⁴ Cairns’ suggestions for structural reorganization were largely ignored by the Scout Association, though Boy Scout executives did concede that more active involvement and supervision in the Mackenzie Region would be useful, given the concentration of activity there.⁶⁵⁵ It was only in February of 1961 that Ben Sivertz, a Director with Northern Affairs, revisited the issue and again questioned the utility of sending southern officials to inspect northern troops once a year. Sivertz pointed to what he felt was a lack of strong local leadership and engagement as the main factor impeding the success of the movement in the North. “Scout and Guide work is particularly important at this time in the North,” he noted, “but dynamism will come only if local people feel that they are well supported, and only if there are some real incentives to offer young people to join the movement and work hard for

⁶⁵⁴ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a, Volume 547, File:660-7, Part 4.2, Boy Scouts Association, 1957, Report of Scout study trip to the North, April 17, 1957.

⁶⁵⁵ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85 Series D-1-a, Vol. 547, File:660-7, Part 4.2, Boy Scouts Association, 1957, Mortlock to Jacobson, June 6, 1957.

it.”⁶⁵⁶ Sivertz argued that the yearly visits by southern Scout officials could “breed a local cynicism in communities where there is no money for uniforms and equipment and no possibility of participation in regional jamborees.” Instead, he suggested prioritizing funds for local equipment and events rather than for yearly tours by southern officials.⁶⁵⁷ Robertson took these new priorities to Deputy Scout Commissioner Finlay in Ottawa, who asked for time to re-evaluate the movement’s approach in the North.⁶⁵⁸

In response to these shifting federal priorities, the Boy Scout Association moved to improve its regional strength in northern regions. It requested, for instance, that the Quebec Provincial Council move to establish a more concrete connection between Scouting in the southern areas of the province and its northern reaches - known as “Nouveau Québec.” Air-Vice Marshal James B. Harvey, then commanding officer of the Royal Canadian Air Force base at St. Hubert, Quebec, and a member of the Quebec Provincial Council of the Boy Scout Association, worked throughout the spring of 1961 to establish a committee “to provide that sustained interest and support for Northern groups which has been so lacking in the past.”⁶⁵⁹ The Quebec Northern and Arctic Scouting committee initially consisted of a handful of Scouting officials, though membership soon expanded to include representatives from the Hudson’s Bay Company, RCMP, Quebec Provincial Police, Northern Affairs, as well as the Anglican and Catholic Churches.⁶⁶⁰

No indigenous leadership was included, as members felt their own expertise and knowledge of

⁶⁵⁶ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85 Series D-1-a, Vol. 1950, File: A-660-7, Boy Scouts Association, Part 1, 1960-1962, Memorandum for the Deputy Minister: Territorial Grant to Boy Scouts Association, February 1, 1961.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁸ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85 Series D-1-a, Vol. 713, File 660-7 (5), Boy Scout Association, 1957-1961, Robertson to Phillips, February 13, 1961.

⁶⁵⁹ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a, Vol. 713, File 660-7 (5), Boy Scout Association, 1957-1961, Harvey to C.M. Bolger, Administrator of the Arctic, May 24, 1961. See also, , Bolger to Deputy Commissioner, Northwest Territories, Re: Boy Scouts, February 17, 1961. A similar committee for the Western Arctic was also operating within the Alberta Provincial Council at this time.

⁶⁶⁰ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a, Volume 1950, File: A-660-7, Boy Scouts Association, Part 1, 1960-1962, Minutes of a meeting held to form a committee for the expansion of Scouting into Northern Quebec and the District of Franklin, March 17, 1961.

the local population would suffice to help select potential Scout leaders and to develop “training programmes to suit local conditions.”⁶⁶¹ Committee members also agreed to study “the effect of local environment, language and ethnic grouping on the training programme,” and any adaptations that might be necessary to fit northern conditions.⁶⁶²

Discussions between federal government officials and Boy Scout executives continued through the summer of 1961. Northern Affairs officials were divided about whether the Scout movement could provide meaningful programming in the North. After one meeting between Scout and government representatives, G.F. Parsons, a government official in the Arctic Division, noted that “the Northern Affairs delegation was by no means unanimous in its approach to the problems involved.”⁶⁶³ Parsons’ report to departmental colleagues pointed out that Welfare Division officer J.N. Hefler had been sceptical throughout the meeting about Scouting’s chances of success, particularly in the Eastern Arctic. Hefler argued that “Scouting was something foreign to the vast majority of Eskimo people, that there was much danger of it being handled in such a way as to become something ‘laid on’ by the Government, and that it probably would not work in many places because it would not have the support of the parents of the Eskimo community in general.”⁶⁶⁴ Parsons went on to describe how Hefler wondered whether or not “the youth in some Arctic Communities were subjected already to enough organizational controls (i.e. in the schools) and wondered if organized leisure time activities were advisable.” Parsons countered that, in his opinion, Scouting could be useful in the North because its general aims were “universally acceptable” and “that while it was indeed important to

⁶⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶⁶² Ibid.

⁶⁶³ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a, Volume 1950, File: A-660-7, Boy Scouts Association, Part 1, 1960-1962, Memorandum for Mr. Bolger (Administrator of the Arctic), RE: Meeting with Officials of the Boy Scouts Association, June 20, 1961.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid.

avoid forcing the movement on the Eskimo people, enough interest might be generated through local Eskimo Councils to give community support, even in some of the less organized settlements.”⁶⁶⁵

Parsons’ assessment of the meeting, particularly Hefler’s scepticism, worried Arctic Administrator Clare Bolger. Bolger scoffed at Hefler’s suggestion that Scouting may not be suitable for youth in the North, asking, “Would Mr. Hefler rather have the teenagers in the Pool Hall at Frobisher Bay?”⁶⁶⁶ Hefler’s comments clearly caused a stir, as he was asked to explain his comments to his Director. His reply noted some surprise that his comments caused any controversy since he only intended to supply some constructive criticism:

I expressed the opinion that considerably more adaptation would be required to make the program applicable to relatively primitive settlements in the Eastern Arctic than to make it applicable to more advanced settlements in the Mackenzie. [...] Although I questioned the applicability of some aspects of the Scout program in some parts of the Territories, I did not question the usefulness of the Boy Scout movement as such in the north generally or anywhere else.⁶⁶⁷

Hefler then argued that it was essential for government officials to be able to think critically about how best to implement government policy objectives: “there must surely be room for discussion of the techniques by which the policy can be implemented.”⁶⁶⁸ Departmental officials marked the issue as “closed” after receiving Hefler’s explanation, but the episode reveals both the scepticism that some officials felt about the movement’s suitability for the North and the overall popularity the movement enjoyed within government circles: to be seen as openly critical of the movement invited chastisement and discipline.

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., hand-written comments in margin.

⁶⁶⁷ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a, Vol. 2076, File: 660-7, Part 6, Boy Scouts Association (Grants to, Service in the North), 1961-1964, Memorandum from J.N. Hefler to W. Rudnicki, RE: Boy Scouts in the North, July 6, 1961.

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid.

While Northern Affairs officials and national representatives from the Boy Scout Association wrestled with how to encourage the use of Scouting in the North, the Quebec Provincial Council's committee on the same issue moved quickly to establish which communities in northern Quebec and the Franklin District had both large enough populations and the necessary social and institutional supports to foster Scout troops and Cub packs. James Harvey, Chair of the Quebec Arctic and Northern Committee, took advantage of fellow Scout supporters in the RCAF to get reports from the various isolated posts and settlements by using, for instance, officers in the Ground Observer Corps to report back on communities that could support Scouting during their regional operations.⁶⁶⁹ Despite the white population being massively outnumbered in most of these northern communities, it was often only in communities that had established white community associations or institutions that the committee felt that there was any hope for establishing Scouting.⁶⁷⁰

The Quebec Arctic and Northern Committee also debated what sort of adaptations would be needed in the program to ensure the movement's success in the North. At a March 1962 meeting of the committee, for instance, members discussed how they could work on the "adaptation of Scout Tests for Eskimo Use (sic)," as well as a proposal for a "Twinning" plan for matching southern and northern Scout groups.⁶⁷¹ Written by committee member Marcel Stary, the plan was drafted as an invitation to southern Scout leaders and boys to take up the task of partnering with northern troops. Stary argued that the aim of Arctic Scouting should be to "establish Boy Scout Groups for Indian and Eskimo boys. To give them the opportunity to

⁶⁶⁹ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a, Vol. 1950, File: A-660-7, Boy Scouts Association, Part 1, 1960-1962, Progress Report by the Arctic and Northern Committee to Provincial Executive Committee, September 30, 1961.

⁶⁷⁰ Communities such as Sugluk, Great Whale River, Fort Chimo and Koartak all were seen as promising, largely due to the presence of police officers, missionaries, military officers, HBC officials or all of these organizations, *Ibid.*

⁶⁷¹ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a, Vol. 1950, File: A-660-7, Boy Scouts Association, Part 1, 1960-1962, Minutes of a meeting of the Committee on the Arctic and Northern Quebec, March 20, 1962.

participate in a Movement which aims for a high standard of character, citizenship and physical fitness.”⁶⁷² Stary argued that if “Scouting in the Arctic was going to succeed, the North and South somehow should get together.” Boys in both regions of the country would benefit, he argued since “the Eskimo boy living far in the North never in his life saw a tree and it is hard for him to imagine a train. At the same time the boy in the South cannot imagine an iceberg or the long Arctic night...[we should, therefore] put the boys of the North and South together in spirit of the brotherhood of Scouting, in which the geographical and all other barriers will be overcome.” Stary’s call to the boys’ imagination of the vastness of Canada also manifested itself in his suggestions for how groups could grow their twinning partnership. First, he suggested, they should focus on correspondence, followed by exchanging pictures and then more physical objects such as homemade walking sticks for northern boys (wood, he argued, was “precious” in the North) while northern boys could send such artifacts of northern life as the antlers of caribou or the claws of a polar bear. Such exchanges, he argued, would spark their imaginations and set them on “a great adventure in the Arctic, which so far has belonged only to explorers.”⁶⁷³

The proposal to twin northern and southern Scout groups was not entirely new, as a Scout troop in Great Whale River, largely supported by military officials stationed at the nearby Mid-Canada line RCAF station, had twinned with a Troop in the Town of Mount Royal. The Montreal community organized a summer camp visit by two of the boys from the northern troop in the summer of 1962.⁶⁷⁴ The boys, one Cree and the other Innu, toured the Montreal General Hospital to visit “Indian and Eskimo patients and talk to them, in their own language,” as a good

⁶⁷² Ibid.

⁶⁷³ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁴ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a, Vol. 1950, File: A-660-7, Boy Scouts Association, Part 1, 1960-1962, Report on the Visit of Paulossie Angatookalook and Robie Dick to Camp Tamaracouta, July, 1962. After their two weeks of camping, the boys were brought to a Canadair production facility to see the machines on the production line, continuing their education about the “technological” and modern south.

turn, and then were treated to the sights and sounds of Montreal. The Scout committee member who drafted the report emphasized how the exotic sights of urban Montreal must have held the boys' attention. They were treated, for instance, to tours of the "new tall buildings" downtown and then set loose with two local Scouts to explore the downtown core, managing to "see a few sights and purchase an astounding number of comic books and a staggering amount of candy. In fairness to the boys it must be said that these goodies were all intended to be shared with their Troop and families at Great Whale, but it was a bit of shock to see the boys later in the day with this pile of junk."⁶⁷⁵

After a stay with some local families, they departed for two weeks of camping at the Quebec Provincial Council-owned Scout Camp Tamaracouta where, within a few days, they "lost all traces of shyness and reserve...In fact these lasted only a few hours, and we wondered whether all the stories about the silent Eskimos and Indians could possibly be true."⁶⁷⁶ The boys surprised some by needing no special treatment when it came to proficiency testing at camp and were generally praised for being "good campers" and "polite, helpful house guests." The Mount Royal parents generally felt that the experience was a good one, and that it helped Scouting both in the North and South. The opportunity for the boys of the Mount Royal Troop to meet these northern boys, they felt, was beneficial and it should be repeated, as "the sharing of good fortune with other Scouts is certainly in keeping with the Scout Law."⁶⁷⁷

In addition to developing an early plan for twinning northern and southern Scout groups, the Quebec Arctic and Northern Committee worked on developing new badges specific to what the committee felt were the unique conditions and culture of the North as well as the special needs of Inuit and Aboriginal Scouts in the region. Earning badges for certain skills deemed

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid.

useful for Inuit boys provided a valuable bridge in Scout leaders' eyes between the world of Scouting and Inuit culture. Some of the first badges proposed included: Whaler's Badge, Ice Pilot's Badge, String Game Badge, Reader's Badge and a Gymnastics Badge.⁶⁷⁸ While no proficiency requirements were listed for earning these badges, they represent a compelling mix of what committee members felt were so-called "traditional" skills which were worth preserving as well as specific "modern" skills, such as literacy, that the Inuit boy might need to operate in the modern North.

While Quebec's Scout leadership worked to adapt the program to northern needs, Scouting also had competition in the North. The Cadet movement had an important and high-profile supporter in Ottawa: retired anthropologist Diamond Jenness. Jenness, a New Zealander, had moved to Canada in 1913 as part of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, which kicked off his long and illustrious career studying and writing about Canada's northern Aboriginal and Inuit peoples. In the early 1960s, after a stint as the chief anthropologist at the National Museum, Jenness worked with the Arctic Institute of North America to publish a five-volume series on Eskimo administration in Alaska, Canada and Greenland. Jenness describes at length his vision of how an organization like the Cadets could be of use in providing training and skills essential for helping modern Inuit boys assume leadership positions in their communities while at the same time helping reinforce Canada's sovereignty in the North. After having selected the most promising Inuit students for education in the South, Jenness proposed that those with "no aptitudes for, or interest in, any studies, but desire to leave school for good" be selected for a special youth program:

Into this category fall many white children of retarded mentalities or from poor environments. It embraces also many children who are not interested in the usual school

⁶⁷⁸ LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-3-a, Volume 1950, File: A-660-7, Boy Scouts Association, Part 2, 1963-1964, Minutes of a meeting of the Committee on the Arctic and Northern Quebec, April 4, 1963.

studies and make very poor progress in their classes, but who possess, nonetheless, special capabilities not fostered by our school system. It would include, too, nearly all our Eskimos and northern Indians, whose knowledge of English or French is today so defective that it handicaps them for any further education or for employment outside their own homelands.⁶⁷⁹

These boys, suggested Jenness, should be enrolled in a sort of “Labour Unit” or “Battalion” and trained for two years on such concepts as discipline, “the responsibilities of citizenship” and be put to work on “such public projects as road-making, forest conservation, park management, construction work of various kinds, etc. [...] Service in the ‘units’ should combine physical labour with compulsory educational programs, some of them ‘on the job’, others in special classes organized and supervised by the educational authorities.”⁶⁸⁰

Jenness argued that this military-style training should be delivered by the Department of National Defence and that, if it were to pay a wage, it would allow Inuit youth to live close to their communities. These factors, combined with an attractive uniform, would incite Inuit youth to “gladly volunteer.” Further, he contended that it would serve the dual purpose of strengthening northern defence capabilities by providing suitable military training and “it would have the merit of speeding up the training of the Eskimos to take over most of the administrative posts in the Arctic, and the skilled and semi-skilled jobs, now being filled by whites from southern Canada, thus substantially reducing the unemployment that prevails in the north today and the government’s mounting expenses for straight relief.”⁶⁸¹

Jenness’s proposal for providing a more rigid and trades-based type of education was steeped in his belief that “traditional” Inuit culture was doomed to irrelevancy and only served to hold the Inuit back: “The Eskimo cannot stand still. He cannot follow the way of life of his ancestors, even if he wants to (which he does not), any more than we can abandon our

⁶⁷⁹ Diamond Jenness, *Eskimo Administration II: Canada* (Montreal: 1964), 180-181.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid., 181.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid., 183.

aeroplanes, our motorcars, and our televisions, and go back to the horse-and-buggy, the two-ox plough, and the wind-up music box.”⁶⁸² His plan for a massive educational effort designed to rationalize and prioritize the education of certain northerners for full economic citizenship while relegating others to more menial tasks echoed a high modernist emphasis on efficiency and the belief that, with enough planning and expert management, any social challenge could be overcome.

During the research and preparation of his report, Jenness likely forwarded these policy suggestions to the federal government, as it triggered discussion within the Department of Northern Affairs in late 1962 and into early 1963. B. Thorsteinsson, Chief of the Education Division in the Department, drafted two policy memos in response to a “proposal by Dr. Diamond Jenness for the establishment of another type of local organization for older boys and men in northern communities.”⁶⁸³ Pointing out the sustained support the Department had given to the Scout movement since the Second World War, and that the annual grant to the association had recently almost doubled, Thorsteinsson offered that “we have supported the Boy Scouts Association' drive to establish new Scout troops in various settlements of the North in the hope that active, locally run organizations would be formed whereby the interests and aptitudes of the local boys could be co-ordinated in an organization of this type.” Though he stopped short of criticizing the Cadet movement or Jenness’s proposal, he urged prudence in considering a shift in support to a more martial movement, or dividing resources between the two associations as “we

⁶⁸² Ibid. 64.

⁶⁸³ LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Series D-1-A , Volume 2076, File: 660-7, Part 6, Boy Scouts Association (Grants to, Service in the North), 1961-1964, Memorandum for the Director: Implications of Establishing Cadet and Militia Organizations in the Northwest Territories, January 22, 1963. Thorsteinsson also refers to two other memoranda on the issue, but these memos were not located in Department records.

may, in effect, be writing off any successes the Boy Scout Association had hoped for in the North.”⁶⁸⁴

Northern Affairs records hold no direct evidence of a decision on the matter, though given the subsequent heavy support given to the Scouts in the 1960s, both in funding and planning support, it is likely that Jenness’s proposals were rejected, or at least handed off to the Department of National Defence for their own consideration.⁶⁸⁵ Only a few months later, for instance, Alex Stevenson, Administrator of the Arctic, wrote to James Harvey to offer renewed government support to the Scout movement:

This office places great importance on the benefits to northern peoples derived from the Scouting movement. Please be assured of our continuing interest and co-operation, also that of the field staff, in Scouting activities in the north. We will endeavour to assist in any possible [way] the advancement of Scouting in the north within the capacity of our staff and available time.⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁵ The Department of National Defence was also developing a specific training program for male Aboriginal and Inuit youth in a junior wing of the Canadian Rangers militia unit, P. Whitney Lackenbauer, “Canada’s Northern Defenders: Aboriginal Peoples in the Canadian Rangers, 1947–2005,” in *Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian Military: Historical Perspectives*, eds. P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Craig Mantle (Kingston: CDA Press, 2007), 171–208.

⁶⁸⁶ LAC, RG 85, Northern Affairs Program, Series D-3-a, Volume 1950, File: A-660-7, Boy Scouts Association, Part 2, 1963-1964, Stevenson to Harvey, March 8, 1963.

Nationalizing the North: The National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting

The National Council of the Boy Scouts Association created the National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting. Its mandate was “to undertake to encourage and facilitate the growth and development of Scouting in the Canadian north, working in close cooperation with those provinces which are already active in this area”⁶⁸⁷ The committee defined the North (see Figure 5) as “the Canadian Arctic proper; northern Canada as far south as 60 latitude north, and other suitable areas upon which the provincial councils concerned and the committee agree.” The committee also promised to “organize a Scouting programme with variations to suit local customs, language and environment and to monitor the progress in each community.” They agreed to continue the work of their Quebec Provincial Council counterparts in continuing to

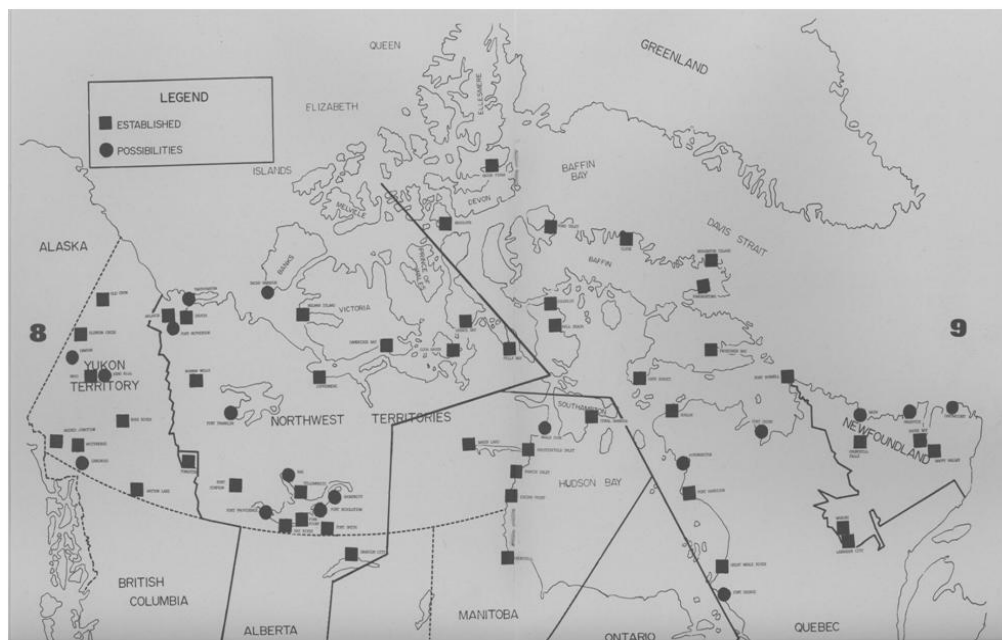


Figure 5 - Map of Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1970. Source: *Scouting in Northern Canada* (Ottawa, Boy Scouts of Canada, 1970). The north-south lines indicate which provincial council is affiliated with a northern region.

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid.

encourage north/south exchanges and twinning programs. Further, the committee was to create “new proficiency badges and adapt existing badges to suit the Arctic and northern environment, physical and cultural, in which provincial councils and the North West (sic) Territories are encouraged to participate.”⁶⁸⁸ Clearly, Scouting in the North would no longer be operating on the basis of yearly visits by a lone Scout official, or as an appendage to government or missionary education efforts. The federal government and the Boy Scouts of Canada converged in the 1960s to give the movement its greatest support in attempting to expand to the Canadian North.

The National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, under James Harvey, set out almost immediately to expand its membership base, as well as to establish connections with educators, researchers and government officials who could both provide expertise on northern issues and lend credibility to the committee’s work. Within less than a year, an impressive list of supporters and volunteers had signed on to support the committee’s mandate. These included: Donald Marsh, Anglican Bishop of the Diocese of the Arctic, Father André Renaud, o.m.i., Associate Professor of Education at the University of Saskatchewan, officials from Indian Affairs and Northern Affairs, from the Royal Canadian Navy, northern mining and airline companies such as Eldorado Mining and Nordair, as well as the Arctic Institute of North America.⁶⁸⁹ The committee also focused its efforts on thinking of ways to increase local support for the movement and to improve the participation of indigenous leadership in northern communities. Two initiatives were selected as key in this regard: expanding the north-south

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁹ LAC, BSC, MG 28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 1, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1963-1967, Report to the executive committee of the National Council on the activities of the Arctic and Northern Committee for Scouting, submitted by Air Vice-Marshal J.B. Harvey, February 7-8, 1964.

contact by creating more opportunities for gatherings of Scouts in the North and tailoring the program to northern needs through new badges.⁶⁹⁰

Committee members built on previous work by the Quebec Provincial Council in developing a special set of northern proficiency badges for Wolf Cubs and Scouts in the North. The first batch of approved national northern proficiency badges reveals the committee's desire to "help" in the preservation of certain skills and traditions and teaching others that they felt would be helpful in assisting youth in these communities in preventing illness and that might be useful in the modern northern economy. Badges for Cubs included: Germ Enemy, Interpreter, Water Boy, Komatik Driver and Bowman, while for Scouts three badges were initially approved: Fur Trapper, Carver and Hunter.⁶⁹¹ Though concern for sanitation and health conditions in many Inuit settlements likely fuelled the development of badges geared to improving younger Inuit boys' knowledge of hygiene and sanitation standards, it also echoed a larger trend of imposing new health standards and practices on communities while ignoring local knowledge or approaches. Paradoxically, many of the "skills" based badges sought to reinforce "traditional" activities such as hunting and trapping.

If the goals of the new proficiency badges reflected a mix of reform and preservation impulses, the feedback and input on the badges was equally divided on these two aims. Anglican Bishop of the Arctic Donald Marsh, for instance, was consistent in his criticism throughout the postwar period that the government and commercial influence in the North was working to erode and eliminate Inuit and indigenous culture and knowledge. He argued that the Anglican Church

⁶⁹⁰ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 1, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1963-1967, Minutes of the second meeting of the National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, Ottawa, March 5, 1964.

⁶⁹¹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 1, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1963-1967, Special Proficiency Badges, as adopted by motion of the national executive, May 8, 1964.

acted as a bulwark between its Inuit flock and southern white influence. In 1960, for instance, he criticized education efforts in the North for simply importing southern provincial curricula, with “no provision to retain the many wonderful things in Eskimo life, nor does it make specific reference to the teaching of Eskimo culture, life, customs, or any of the fine things that were part of it [...] We see a challenge to the Church to seek to preserve those things, but it will be a difficult task to accomplish with children outside school hours.”⁶⁹² Marsh repeated these concerns to the Arctic and Northern Committee, saying that he was “very anxious that the old Eskimo and Indian customs and skills expressing the native culture be preserved.”⁶⁹³ On the other side of the debate, Scout officials such as Harvey argued that the northern proficiency badges, while certainly useful in helping preserve certain traditions, were useful to all residents of the North. Accordingly, the committee voted to make the new badges “available to all boys in the Territories irrespective of race or colour.”⁶⁹⁴ Harvey later repeated the argument that “the Eskimo and Indian boy should not be treated any differently than the white boy in respect to program and badges. I incline to the view that there should be no substantial changes in the basic requirements but that in certain areas, due to environment and resources, special provisions should be made.”⁶⁹⁵

The debate over the focus of the Scout program in the North – to “preserve” Inuit and Aboriginal traditions or to help their integration into southern-style learning and modernization

⁶⁹² GSA, Diocese of the Arctic, M96-07, Sub-series 2-5, Box 72, File 2, D.B. Marsh, Pastoral Letters, 1960-1961, Report for Provincial Synod, January, 1960.

⁶⁹³ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 1, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1963-1967, Report of the Arctic and Northern Committee for Scouting, presented at National Executive Meeting, October 16-17, 1964.

⁶⁹⁴ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 1, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1963-1967, Minutes of the Third meeting of the National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, Montreal, June 4, 1964.

⁶⁹⁵ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 1, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1963-1967, Report of the Arctic and Northern Committee for Scouting, presented at National Executive Meeting, Charlottetown, October 16-17, 1964.

in the North – continued within the movement throughout the 1960s with neither side gaining an upper hand. Bishop Marsh continued his passionate defence of “traditional” Inuit culture by working to suggest a second wave of badges for use in the North, approved in 1965. They included: Skinner’s Badge, Dog Driver Badge, Water Boy (revised) Badge, Lamp Maker Badge, Kayaker’s Badge, Seal Hunter’s Badge, Sewing Badge and an Igloo Builder Badge.⁶⁹⁶ As the list of northern proficiency badges grew, Scout officials continued to argue that they were “of great value, both in retaining old native skills and self respect,” while also being open to all northern Scouts and Cubs, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal alike.⁶⁹⁷ Government officials also generally supported the adaptations to the programme. P.J. Gillespie, Northern Administrator in Great Whale River, for instance, praised the effort to move Scouting more “in line with his [the Eskimo boy’s] way of life and culture... [W]e are pleased that we have been able to help a little in getting these modern Indian and Scouts prepared - for anything.”⁶⁹⁸

The development of special proficiency badges in the early 1960s followed a similar pattern to other government initiatives of the period which continued to seek to assimilate indigenous populations into a larger citizenry while preserving certain “important” elements of their culture and traditions. In the late 1940s, for instance, the federal government issued a special booklet for Inuit in the North titled *The Book of Wisdom for Eskimo*.⁶⁹⁹ The short booklet contained a patronizing mix of advice and instructions on a variety of personal hygiene and

⁶⁹⁶ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 1, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1963-1967, Minutes, Fourth meeting of the National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, Ottawa, February 18, 1965; Memo re: Boy Scout Proficiency Badges, April 1, 1965.

⁶⁹⁷ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a , Accession 1997-98/076 , Box 126, File : 660-7, Part 8, Boy Scouts Association, 1966-1968, Minutes, National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, March 25, 1966; LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-3-a , Volume 1912 , File: A660-7, Part 3, Boy Scouts Association (Scouting in Northern Canada), 1965, A Scout News Release from the Information Services, Boy Scouts of Canada, February 21-25, 1965, “Scout Movement Responds to Challenge To Serve Eskimos-Indians in the Arctic.”

⁶⁹⁸ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-3-a , Volume 1912 , File: A660-7, Part 3, Boy Scouts Association (Scouting in Northern Canada), 1965, P.J. Gillespie, Northern Administrator, to Regional Administrator, Arctic Quebec, April 22, 1965

⁶⁹⁹ Canada, Bureau of Northwest Territories and Yukon Affairs, *The Book of Wisdom for Eskimo* (Ottawa: Dept. of Mines and Resources, Canada, 1947).

parenting skills, like how to mix pabulum, along with advice on how to survive in the Arctic cold. As Paul McNicoll, Frank Tester and Peter Kulchyski have recently argued, the *Book of Wisdom* represented a modernist attempt by the federal government to regulate and control Inuit bodies and practices as part of its extension of the welfare state to the North.⁷⁰⁰

A cultural parallel can also be drawn with the work of James Houston, a federal official and artist instrumental in the government's efforts in the 1950s to promote the sale of Inuit art as both a cultural and economic initiative. Houston's attempts to shape and define Inuit art and his role in encouraging its growth internationally were on a larger scale than the effort of the Boy Scouts to encourage the continuance of certain cultural and economic practices through badge work, but they operated under similar assumptions and objectives. Both sought to preserve and even encourage certain traditions, while shaping them to fit certain definitions of indigeneity.⁷⁰¹ Though the northern proficiency badges were not as nakedly assimilative as other official government efforts, their attempt to harness Inuit knowledge and practice and repackage it within a uniquely southern pedagogical tool of the Scout proficiency badge certainly made them part of a larger social project of regulating and shaping the North.

Some northern Scout leaders went above and beyond promoting the new badges as a means of preserving northern Inuit and Aboriginal culture. Bill Zuk, the principal at the federal day school in Igloolik and the local Scoutmaster, wrote to Quebec Scout Commissioner (Arctic and Northern Scouting) John Parkin to suggest that his boys might start an archaeological dig of sorts at nearby Hall Beach, combing the area for Inuit artefacts which they could then use to

⁷⁰⁰ Paul McNicoll, Frank Tester and Peter Kulchyski, "Arctic Absertions: 'The Book of Wisdom for Eskimo,' Modernism and Inuit Assimilation," *Études-Inuit Studies* vol. 23, no. 1-2 (1999), 199-220.

⁷⁰¹ Leanne Stuart Pupchek, "True North: Inuit Art and the Canadian Imagination," *American Review of Canadian Studies* 31, no. 1/2 (Spring/Summer 2001): 191-208; Heather L. Igliolorte, "Influence and Instruction: James Houston, Sunuyuksuk: Eskimo Handicrafts, and the Formative Years of Contemporary Inuit Art," (MA Thesis: Carleton University, 2006).

make a display. This, he argued, would help “provide a history of the people to be related to parents and others by way of a showcase. Very little is known about the Eskimo cultures which go back to 2000 B.C. on our island.”⁷⁰² Parkin enthusiastically supported the idea, forwarding it to officials within the Department of Northern Affairs, arguing that it “will encourage young Eskimo Scouts to take a deep interest in their origins and to love their land.”⁷⁰³ The boys would learn not only about their own history, but could work towards their archaeologist’s badge in the process. Parkin suggested that “the Museum Authorities may see something very original in this and may be prepared to help with advice, suggestions, books, 'know-how' etc.”⁷⁰⁴

His hopes were quickly dashed by archaeological experts in Ottawa. Both federal officials and archaeologists at the National Museum were reluctant to have a troop of young boys digging around doing “archaeological” work. While some government officials expressed concern about who would have ownership of any artefacts uncovered at Hall Beach, W.E. Taylor, Jr., Chief of the Archaeology Division at the National Museum of Canada, effectively nixed the project.⁷⁰⁵ Taylor commended the enthusiasm of Zuk and his troop, but argued that archaeological work should be left to trained experts:

Archaeology is not and can scarcely be treated as a hobby in the sense that one may indulge in bird watching and geological collection of fossils and minerals. The basic difference in this regard is that each archaeological site, with very rare exceptions, is a unique situation. Each is a distinct page of prehistory and excavating is an intricately destructive process. The digging of each site can be done once and the reading of that page can be done once. Unless it is done properly the page in question will be misread or completely unread and therefore lost.⁷⁰⁶

⁷⁰² LAC, Northern Affairs, Series D-3-a, Volume 1950, File: A-660-7, Boy Scouts Association, Part 4, 1965-1966, Bill Zuk to Parkin, October 7, 1965.

⁷⁰³ LAC, Northern Affairs, Series D-3-a, Volume 1950, File: A-660-7, Boy Scouts Association, Part 4, 1965-1966, Parkin to Stevenson, October 16, 1965.

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁵ LAC, Northern Affairs, Series D-3-a, Volume 1950, File: A-660-7, Boy Scouts Association, Part 4, 1965-1966, Stevenson to W.E. Taylor, Jr., November 5, 1965.

⁷⁰⁶ LAC, Northern Affairs, Series D-3-a, Volume 1950, File: A-660-7, Boy Scouts Association, Part 4, 1965-1966, Taylor to Stevenson, November 9, 1965.

After effectively establishing that only trained experts should engage in such historical work, Taylor offered that the boys in Igloolik, under museum supervision, could help salvage any remaining significant objects at Hall Beach, as the area had “already been damaged by tourist looting.”

Though not all northern officials, teachers and military personnel were as enthusiastic or creative as Zuk in thinking of ways that Scouting could help reconnect Inuit boys with their culture and history, Scouting promoted the movement’s expansion into the Arctic as an important part of helping to preserve Inuit culture and traditions while preparing them for what they felt were inevitable changes and shocks they would face with encroaching modernity. W.G. Westcott, the school principal in Rankin Inlet and the local Scoutmaster, wrote a piece in the Oblate Order’s monthly magazine *Eskimo* extolling the virtues of Scouting in the North. Westcott described some of the adaptations that had been necessitated by the realities of northern conditions and working with Inuit and Aboriginal youth in his community. He argued that, ideally, the future of Scouting in the North would involve more Inuit and Aboriginal leadership, but until then Scouting had to find ways to overcome what he perceived as the Inuit reluctance to show any leadership qualities: “There is a tendency for Eskimos to avoid the responsibility of leadership. They seem to enjoy being told what to do. But if young Eskimos are trained to accept leading positions they would have no trouble accepting it as adults. That is why the system of patrols with patrol leaders and seconds is so beneficial.”⁷⁰⁷ Westcott argued that, in addition to helping Inuit boys learn the “ways of their own past, i.e. lighting seal oil lamps, trapping, building an igloo,” the northern badges also helped them learn modern hygiene:

The hardest responsibility he has is personal cleanliness. His living conditions do not have the modern conveniences of the South such as washers, dryers, irons, running water and in a large number of cases electricity. This is realized and taken into consideration

⁷⁰⁷ W.G. Westcott, “Northern Scouting,” *Eskimo* 69 (Spring 1965), 15.

but he is responsible to look as clean as possible. The writer has seen the results of such responsibility – clean hands and face, hair combed, shirts brushed; good pants kept neat because of proper storage, no missing buttons, teeth brushed and last but not least, clean socks.⁷⁰⁸

Westcott thus connected an appreciation of the past with a desire to train indigenous boys about “cleanliness” and “responsibility” as the key contributions of Scouting in the North. “If Scouting can continue to live and keen interest upheld,” he argued, “the Eskimos of tomorrow will be better Canadian citizens in every respect.”

Northern Scouting’s chair, James Harvey, echoed these claims about citizenship training and integration, arguing that Scouting, with its universal program, was “peculiarly well-suited to the needs of boys and young men, no matter what their backgrounds may be, for it satisfies the desire for adventure, acquisition of skills often associated with the outdoors, development of initiative and self-confidence through which a feeling of independence is attained and finally, the sense of belonging to a group consisting of individuals of their own age.”⁷⁰⁹ Though boys in the Canadian Arctic were “no exception” to these general needs that Scouting supposedly fulfilled, Harvey went on to describe some of the adaptations made to the program to encourage its growth in the Canadian North. Quoting an anonymous missionary, Harvey argued that the new Scouting badges and program in the North helped boys with “the development of practical skills through proficiency badge work, both the preservation of old skills and the introduction of new ones, how to use spare time constructively, and finally expands the vision of the future and his place in it far and beyond the bounds of his own village.”⁷¹⁰ Harvey noted that the northern Scout program had been conceived and developed by special Scout committees consisting of “a number of gentlemen who were very knowledgeable of the Arctic environment and the people

⁷⁰⁸ Ibid., 16.

⁷⁰⁹ James B. Harvey, “Scouting Amongst the Eskimos and Northern Indians,” *North*, May-June 1965, 18.

⁷¹⁰ Ibid., 22.

who live there – the Eskimos and Northern Indians.” Harvey apparently saw no contradiction in praising the expertise of a committee which had no Aboriginal or Inuit representation while later repeating Westcott’s claim that the future of the movement’s success in the North lay in gaining more indigenous leadership and support.⁷¹¹

In addition to praising the utility of the program to northern boys, Harvey placed heavy emphasis on the geographic reach of Canadian Scouting in the North. Harvey pointed out that, from its humble beginnings in the Mackenzie Delta region, Scouting was “on the march in the Arctic and sub-Arctic,” expanding throughout Canada’s northern reaches where, “the number is steadily growing, both in the Hudson Bay area and Baffin Island and as far west as Tuktoyaktuk and north to Grise Fiord on Ellesmere Island.” Here again Harvey emphasized the role of the expertise and reach of committee members, “who have lived and travelled extensively in the north and through whom it is possible to conduct surveys to ascertain the boy populations, encourage local leadership, assist in arranging for training courses, and establish initial contact with the more remote communities.”⁷¹² Harvey finished his article with a reflection on the rapid pace of change in the north and how Scouting could help northern youth in a time of transition:

The old way of living is giving way to a community type of life with all the attendant social and economic adjustments. The boy grows up, no longer in a close-knit family group, constantly on the move, learning the art of survival from his earliest years. Now, hunting and fishing are very often undertaken more for pleasure than to provide an existence. He goes to school and notices the habits and sense of values of the white man. [...] The next few years will see more and more Eskimo and Northern Indian young men proceeding to higher education and acquiring knowledge and skills which will enable them to play an important part in the development of the north, and there is no doubt in my mind that the principles upon which Scouting is based, with a program suitably adapted to environment, will assist in this difficult period of adjustment, and thereafter, as it has done for the youth in so many countries in all parts of the world.⁷¹³

⁷¹¹ Ibid., 19-21.

⁷¹² Ibid., 21.

⁷¹³ Ibid., 22.

Harvey's emphasis on the expanse and scope of Scouting's growth in the Canadian North echoed the wider expansion of government and civil interest in the area in the late 1950s and into the 1960s. More specifically, the early attempts to adapt the Scout programme for indigenous needs, particularly northern Inuit populations, provides a glimpse of some of the shift in thinking occurring both within government and non-governmental agencies working in the North.

The Search for Indigenous Leadership

In spite of the optimistic outlook of men like Harvey about the potential of Northern Scouting to act as a bridge between worlds, the continued absence of any real Aboriginal or Inuit voices in shaping the movement's growth in the North proved problematic. While earlier efforts to expand the movement in northern communities and settlements occasionally made passing reference to an eventual goal of Aboriginal and Inuit leaders taking over northern Scout groups, indigenization only truly gained importance in the mid to late 1960s. Members of the National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, for instance, raised the question of Aboriginal representation as early as the group's fourth meeting in November of 1964, but it was only in October of 1967 that they asked Chief Andrew Delisle, of the Caughnawaga nation of southern Quebec, to join the committee "as a representative of the Indian community."⁷¹⁴ Delisle's membership on the committee was largely symbolic as he attended few, if any, meetings and never appeared on the record in the committee's minutes.

⁷¹⁴ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 1, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1963-1967, Fourth Meeting of the National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, held at RCAF Station North Bay, November 5, 1964; LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 2, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1967-1972. Delisle served on the committee until 1971, though he was able attend very few, if any meetings, and the committee eventually decided to seek another representative, Minutes of the 26th meeting of the National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, Ottawa, April 26, 1971.

William Carr, who had taken over the chairmanship of the Arctic Scouting committee after Harvey's retirement, was part of an attempt to change the leadership imbalance within the movement's northern structure. He suggested that Scout officials should concentrate on preparing "a program for strengthening and developing (indigenous) leadership for Scouts in the Northern Region."⁷¹⁵ Bert Mortlock, who was in charge of Relationships and Information Services for the Scout Association, reiterated the aim of encouraging more indigenous leadership. In a memorandum to all provincial Scout executives, about how to run the program in residential schools, Mortlock noted that, though operating Scouting in these contexts was "complex" with "no pat answers," it was increasingly clear that the best way to ensure success was to have indigenous leadership: "I would say that as a general rule if you can obtain indigenous leadership, we are more likely to have success. [...] The white man generally is not aware of the cultural considerations which must go into successful leadership with Indians."⁷¹⁶

This change of attitude about indigenous leadership in the movement also manifested itself in training strategies. The Scout Association's focus on recruiting whites working in the North shifted towards recruiting more indigenous youth and young adults for positions of leadership by the mid-1960s. One potential source of new leaders identified by committee members was the increasing number of Inuit and Aboriginal teens being schooled and trained in the south.⁷¹⁷ Indian and Northern Affairs officials, for instance, often worked with Scout officials to identify potential candidates for leader training amongst Inuit attending vocational, military training and/or high schools in Ottawa, the Fraser Valley, and Victoria and to expose them to

⁷¹⁵ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 10, Northern Scouting; 1st Arctic Jamboree (1968), 1968, Carr to Mortlock, October 9, 1968.

⁷¹⁶ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 10, Northern Scouting; 1st Arctic Jamboree (1968), 1968, "Scouting with Indian and Eskimo Boys" November 21, 1968.

⁷¹⁷ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 2, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1967-1972, Minutes of the eighteenth meeting of the National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, Ottawa, January 27, 1969.

Scouting through training or by working at Scout camps.⁷¹⁸ If Scouting could be shown to be a valuable training program for youth to these future community leaders, they felt, then “they will have an appreciation of the brotherhood that is Scouting and will be prepared to throw their support behind the Movement which exists in most of the communities from which they come.”⁷¹⁹ This plan of targeting older youth living in the Canadian south was an extension of the more general strategy of bringing boys into contexts where they could be exposed to southern life and amenities in the hopes that they would learn and bring their experience and new knowledge back to their communities.⁷²⁰

Despite the heightened focus on building the leadership capacity of Inuit and Aboriginal communities in the North to run the movement, the question of “character” and finding indigenous men to run northern groups continued to linger in discussions of how to increase indigenous leadership. Scout and government officials volunteering as Scout leaders in the North continued to complain that Inuit and Aboriginal men in the settlements were too accustomed to receiving government help and that Scouting should work to “encourage more self-help and less paternalism” by getting them to take on leadership positions.⁷²¹ In Yellowknife, for instance, Mortlock complained that, despite the presence of a “large Indian village...it seems impossible

⁷¹⁸ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 1, Northern Scouting; 2nd Arctic Jamboree (1970), 1969, Mortlock to regional executives in Fraser Valley, Victoria and Ottawa, February 27, 1969. See also, LAC, BSC, MG28 I73 Vol. 19, Folder 2, Northern Scouting; 2nd Arctic Jamboree (1970), 1969, K.E. Lewis to G. O'Neill, Superintendent of Vocational Training, Western Arctic, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Fort Smith and R. Ritcey, Arctic District Office, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, May 6, 1969.

⁷¹⁹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 2, Northern Scouting; 2nd Arctic Jamboree (1970), 1969, Mortlock to K.E. Lewis, Regional Commissioner, BSC, Greater Victoria Region, May 14, 1969.

⁷²⁰ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 2, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1967-1972, Carr to Stuart Hodgson, March 4, 1969. Recently, a government program, designed to send northern Inuit students to high schools in Canadian cities, has been the subject of litigation. Some of these former students tell their stories in *The Experimental Eskimos*, directed by Barry Greenwald (White Pine Pictures/Paunna Productions, 2009).

⁷²¹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 1, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1963-1967, Minutes of the eleventh meeting of the National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, Ottawa, March 17, 1967.

up until now to find Indians of character who could provide the right kind of leadership.”⁷²² In the Keewatin region, meanwhile, officials complained that “home life” was “not too good and most Eskimo families live on Government assistance. As no motivation will come from the parents it seems that only School and Government pressure can get, at least some of the boys, to take some youth training.”⁷²³ In a letter to a concerned Scout leader in Winnipeg, Bert Mortlock explained that the “Indians and Eskimos” had “a long way to go” in leadership development. In Baker Lake, for instance, he noted that the HBC official had served as Scoutmaster: “He had two Eskimo assistants, and when he left he assured me that they would carry on. They were admirable leaders while he was there to guide them, but when he left they declined to take the full responsibility for operations.”⁷²⁴

The Boy Scout Association also attempted to reach out to parents in the North in a more sensitive manner. At a meeting of the National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting in the spring of 1969, for instance, committee members discussed producing a publication on Scouting for Inuit parents written in syllabics.⁷²⁵ Carr argued during the meeting that, during a recent tour of the Keewatin, he had noted an “intense interest,” from parents and that many saw “Scouting as one movement interested in helping to perpetuate the Eskimo culture.”⁷²⁶ His report described what he felt were the fears felt by parents in the various communities he visited:

[...] in their view the Scout movement is something which would permit an expression of views by native adults and young people. The movement is viewed as a means of perpetuating old skills, not for reasons of practical application so much as for cultural

⁷²² LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 10, Northern Scouting; 1st Arctic Jamboree (1968), 1968, “Scouting with Indian and Eskimo Boys” November 21, 1968.

⁷²³ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 8, Northern Scouting; 1st Arctic Jamboree (1968), 1968, Stewart to Harvey, March 25, 1968.

⁷²⁴ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 2, Northern Scouting; 2nd Arctic Jamboree (1970), 1969, Mortlock to McDonald, June 19, 1969.

⁷²⁵ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 2, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1967-1972, Minutes of the nineteenth meeting of the National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, Ottawa, April 16, 1969.

⁷²⁶ Ibid.

reasons and heritage [...] The fact that we saw only two dog teams during our entire visit but dozens of skidoos underlines that the old business of dog team management and control is disappearing, just as the art of snow house construction will become extinct. Parents need a pamphlet written in syllabics which will underline to them the fact that scouting is related to human values and not to technical expertise imported from the more socially sophisticated areas of the country. They asked for this. Its provision would overcome reticence to participate as effectively as any other means which could be tried. These people want to become involved and they want to participate with the eventual goal of managing their own affairs.⁷²⁷

Carr's call for more direct communication with parents about the benefits of Scouting for their boys reinforced a dualistic notion that their efforts could sustain certain "traditions" as a means to maintain some form of independence and pride in indigenous cultures, while at the same time shifting emphasis to Scouting's more "universal" human values. Carr was not alone in this sentiment. Scout Association Relationships Director Bert Mortlock reminded Alex Stevenson, Administrator of the Arctic for the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, that Scouting was "doing what few other organizations are doing and that is to prevent 'their own culture slipping from their hands'."⁷²⁸

John Parkin, a federal employee working in Chesterfield Inlet, drafted a provisional letter to northern Inuit parents to illustrate the benefits Scouting offered their boys. The initial draft is revealing for its paternalism and dual message around preserving culture and traditional knowledge and preparing boys for the future. The letter described "little boys, who grow so fast and who love to play games where they love to imitate the great Eskimo hunters of long ago, when they drove their teams to the floe ice and stalked the great caribou herds," and argued that modern Inuit parents faced a difficult dilemma when raising their boys into men:

What do you want for your sons? Do you wish them to become like white men or to stay Eskimo? Perhaps you wish them to make the best of the two ways of life. That is why we

⁷²⁷ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 2, Northern Scouting; 2nd Arctic Jamboree (1970), 1969, Report of a Visit to N.W.T. and Northern Manitoba Concerning Arctic and Northern Scouting, 7-9 April 1969.

⁷²⁸ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 2, Northern Scouting; 2nd Arctic Jamboree (1970), 1969, Mortlock to Alex Stevenson, May 27, 1969.

are puzzled, for there are two ways of life and there is so much good in each of them. However, of one thing we are certain and that is that the old way of life is gone, but being so uncertain as we are about the new is why so many Eskimo parents think so anxiously about their children.⁷²⁹

Parkin went on to argue that the Boy Scouts program offered a bridge between the two choices:

Sometimes you will see Scouts learning the skills for which his ancestors were so famous long ago. Many Eskimo and White Men working actively with scouts requested, some years ago, more activity based on the old and traditional Eskimo way of life and less attention paid to the scout activities, useful only to people living in the South. This came about and today you will find the Scout learning to take his place in the canoe, to build a snowbreak, an igloo, learning the proper use of the snowknife, to use a rifle, to care for wounds and to save life. The men responsible for the growth of Scouting among the Eskimo people are wise and realise that culture, with all its implications, of language and custom must never be forgotten for its very existence and development over thousands of years should be remembered with pride by every young Eskimo as he continues to speak his language and express with it his thoughts, in songs and tales to be handed down from generation to generation⁷³⁰

While Parkin vaguely refers to some Inuit input on the Scout northern program, he places much greater emphasis on the “men responsible for the growth of Scouting among the Eskimo,” in describing how Scouting was meant to help preserve facets of Inuit culture. He ended his appeal to parents by arguing that, by supporting Scouting “You will be helping boys to grow to be healthy, happy useful citizens and who, by the help of the Scouting program may well grow to be Leaders in our Northern community.”⁷³¹

Government officials helped edit the document and, for the first time in Arctic Scouting’s efforts in the North, tangible input from Inuit leaders was incorporated in the translation of the document. Zebedee Nungak, a young Inuk from Puvirnituk, who had been part of a program initiated by the federal government in 1964 to educate young Inuit youth in southern Canada, worked as a translator for the government in Ottawa at the time and was asked to provide

⁷²⁹ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a , Accession 1997-98/076 , Box 126, File : 660-7, Part 9, Boy Scouts Association, 1968-1970, Mortlock to Alex Stevenson, January 5, 1970, attachment : Letter to Eskimo Parents (draft).

⁷³⁰ Ibid.

⁷³¹ Ibid.

feedback and translate the letter.⁷³² Nungak argued that the language used was too “southern” and suggested focusing on “the advantage of the scouting experience.”⁷³³ The final version of the letter incorporated some of Nungak’s suggested focus. The introduction, for instance, now spoke on a more intimate level to parents:

Do you want your boys to live like white men or do you want them to live like Eskimos? Perhaps, you want them to have the best things from both ways of life. As you know so well, there are now two ways of life in most Arctic settlements. The old way of living that was known and understood. A new way which is often confusing because it is not known or understood. Because of this confusion, most parents are concerned about the future as the old way of living is slowly disappearing. Young Eskimos are a part of this new way of life and many parents are worried because the young people are forgetting all about the past. There is one organization for boys that can help to pass on to boys the things about the past that you would like yours boys to know. The Boy Scouts.⁷³⁴

The letter described Scouting as being “built on team work and like the Eskimo way of life helping each other. It helps build community pride,” in addition to helping “boys retain their language, customs and skills and learn to be proud of their Eskimo heritage.”⁷³⁵ The “learn by doing” pedagogy of Scouting was naturally suited to Inuit customs, the letter argued, and the adapted program incorporated many Inuit traditional practices. Further, Inuit parents were encouraged to contribute to teaching and testing their boys for the arctic proficiency badges and to volunteer as leaders to help teach the “old ways” to their boys, “By helping the Scouts you are helping boys to grow into good citizens who can become the future leaders of our Northern communities.”⁷³⁶

Though the arctic proficiency badges were intended to help preserve certain elements of what they felt was dying Inuit culture and pride of race, the intent of integrating Inuit youth into

⁷³² Nungak wrote of his experiences in the south in “Experimental Eskimos,” *Inuktitut* 87 (2000), 4-17. He later went on to work as an Inuit activist and headed the Makivik Corporation in the 1990s.

⁷³³ LAC, Northern Affairs, Series D-1-a , Accession 1997-98/076 , Box 126, File : 660-7, Part 9, Boy Scouts Association, 1968-1970, Comments by Z. Nungak on draft letter to parents, n.d.

⁷³⁴ LAC, Northern Affairs, Series D-1-a , Accession 1997-98/076 , Box 126, File : 660-7, Part 9, Boy Scouts Association, 1968-1970, “Letter to Eskimo Parents” (1970). The letter is written both in syllabics and in English.

⁷³⁵ Ibid.

⁷³⁶ Ibid.

Canadian society remained central in the association's aims in the North. After the creation of the new Scout program in 1968, there was a brief debate as to whether to keep the arctic proficiency badges uniquely for northern boys, or open them up to all Canadian boys in the movement. After some deliberation, a special committee in Ottawa recommended keeping the badges separate and only available to northern youth. This upset both Carr and Mortlock, who wrote to the chair of the committee to lobby, unsuccessfully, that they reconsider the decision in light of "the needs and attitudes of those living in the north":

Paramount among these attitudes is the desire to be completely integrated into the whole Canadian Scouting picture. While these special badges were designed to meet certain cultural and environmental needs of northern people, to make them available only to boys living in the north tends to segregate them from the main stream of Canadian Scouting. Of almost equal importance is the desire of northern people, and especially those of Indian and Eskimo racial origin, to make some special contribution to Scouting from their culture, and it is the committee's view that allowing all Boy Scouts to be eligible to earn these badges is an evidence of the acceptance of this contribution from our Indian and Eskimo Scouts in the north.⁷³⁷

Carr and Mortlock's plea appears to have gone unheeded, as the badges remained open only to boys in the north into the early 1970s. The issue reveals some of the tension within Scouting over the purpose of the adaptations made to the Scout program in the North. Men like Carr continued to believe that, while it was important to recognize and strengthen Inuit and Aboriginal identity and to preserve certain elements of their culture, ultimately Scouting should seek to integrate northern Scouts into a larger Canadian whole, as opposed to maintaining a separate identity.

This tension also revealed itself in field reports from the late 1960s and early 1970s. Scout Commissioner William Zuk, who had helped design the arctic proficiency badges, conducted a study tour of the western shore of Hudson Bay in the spring of 1970.⁷³⁸ Zuk argued

⁷³⁷ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 3, Northern Scouting; 2nd Arctic Jamboree (1970), 1969, Mortlock to Dr. A.F. Dunn, September 18, 1969.

⁷³⁸ Zuk travelled from Churchill to Coral harbour, Eskimo Point and Rankin Inlet. Between April 7-21, 1970. LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a , Accession 1997-98/076 , Box 126, File : 660-7, Part 9, Boy Scouts Association, 1968-1970, Committee for Northern Scouting Report, submitted by William Zuk.

in his report to Scouting officials that communities in the Keewatin varied in their degree of acculturation to social and economic changes in the region, but that “ [w]hen a culture has become deteriorated to the extent that it appears disoriented and hapless, it would seem that salvaging and reconstructing parts of the culture might represent a worthwhile endeavour. Instilling a sense of ethnic identity in youth would allow a Scout to develop himself with a clearer definition of who he is and what he represents.”⁷³⁹ Zuk pointed out that one the most successful information sessions on Scouting that he held during his trip was a meeting at Coral Harbour where community elders and a recent winner of a gold medal at the Eskimo Games in Yellowknife organized a demonstration of “traditional activities” for the boys. Calling it an “excellent case of *inclusion of native heritage* which was led by a native person,” Zuk hoped that such successes would “bring about a realization that activities in the native culture are worthwhile pursuing as integral parts of the Scouting program.”⁷⁴⁰

In the conclusion to his report, Zuk reflected on the history of the movement in the North. Zuk connected the findings of the recent the Hawthorn Report to his own criticism of Scouting’s dependence on personnel in other agencies such as the R.C.M.P., the churches, the H.B.C. and federal agencies whose aims, he argued, were assimilative.⁷⁴¹ This resulted in a situation where the long-standing problem of transient white leadership persisted, leading to difficulty in connecting with Inuit and Aboriginal parents, and an overall dependency on southern organization to keep afloat. He countered that there was no longer any excuse for not capitalizing on local leadership capacities as there was an increasing number of local residents who could

⁷³⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid, emphasis is his own.

⁷⁴¹ The Hawthorn report, filed in 1966 and 1967, was a government-commissioned study of Canadian Aboriginal populations. Its author, H.B. Hawthorn, challenged the notion that assimilation was a given outcome for Aboriginals, or that it should be a desirable policy goal; see Alan C. Cairns, *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), 161-164.

work in English with Scout headquarters and that, in communities where language continued to be a barrier, Scouting should operate in local languages:

There is no valid reason why an independence (sic) has not begun to be fostered amongst the native people. The unique possibilities inherent in the cultural heritage of the people should be explored. If Scouting is going to make an outstanding contribution in Canada's North, then it must be a leader and not the follower of numerous other agencies it has come to depend upon for its leaders [...] Scouting must establish whether it, too, is going to follow these agencies or whether it is going to integrate as many aspects of the native culture into its northern organization in providing a service for the various ethnic groups.⁷⁴²

Canadian Scouting's efforts to encourage more indigenous leadership in the North mirrored a wider trend in pushing for more administrative autonomy in the North. While the territorial council of the Northwest Territories wrestled with the recommendations of the Carrothers Report, which had recommended a greater devolution of governance structures from Ottawa to Yellowknife in October of 1966, the Boy Scout Association moved towards creating a separate Northwest Territories Scout Council.⁷⁴³ The interest in properly assessing the potential for the expansion of Scouting in the North led Scouting's leaders to commission a comprehensive "feasibility study of the potential for the movement in the Northwest Territories," funded in part by the Donner Foundation.⁷⁴⁴ The study, conducted by Lavern Burkhardt, a graduate student at the University of Alberta, was a comprehensive examination of community resources, demographics and the economy of the territories. Its assessment of Scouting's potential contribution in the region straddled the longstanding divide between assimilative and preservationist aims in the program. Burkhardt argued that it was foolish to "advocate that the indigenes of Canada North return to their traditional way of life of hunting and fishing." Instead,

⁷⁴² Ibid.

⁷⁴³ For more on the Carrothers Report, see Brent Slobodin, "Carrothers Commission" *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History*. Ed. Gerald Hallowell. Oxford University Press, 2004. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. York University. 26 January 2012

<<http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t148.e299>>

⁷⁴⁴ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 4, Northern Scouting, General, 1970, Donald S. Rickford, President, Donner Canadian Foundation, to Mortlock, January 19, 1970.

he argued, “the role of the Boy Scouts of Canada should be to instill native culture and thus self-pride [...] [the program should] focus on the functionality of their traditional way of life while at the same time encouraging the assimilation of those attitudes, values, skills, and educational prerequisites for the functioning of an individual - regardless of his/her ethnicity - in the industrial Canadian society.”⁷⁴⁵

Burkhardt’s report was part of broader discussions about creating a separate Northwest Territories Council, which simmered from 1969 until a motion recommending its creation was approved by the national committee in April of 1971.⁷⁴⁶ By October of that year a committee consisting of federal government officials living in the North, military officers stationed in the North, RCMP officials, Anglican ministers, territorial government employees and representatives from local municipal council held its first meeting for the new territorial council.⁷⁴⁷ In short, the committee appears to have shifted in its address, but in little else. The new council continued to express concern with reaching out to northern Aboriginal and Inuit populations and the challenge of recruiting more adult indigenous leaders.

Led by Lt. Colonel M.G. (Mel) Bryan, the Northwest Territories Council of the Boy Scouts sought to boost the number of Aboriginal and Inuit leaders in the movement. Like his predecessors, Bryan focused largely on plans that centred on more training sessions run by Scout officials in the North, more translated promotional literature for Inuit and Aboriginal parents, and

⁷⁴⁵ Lavern Burkhardt, *Scouting in Canada North: A Feasibility Study* (Ottawa: Boy Scouts of Canada, National Council, 1970), 140.

⁷⁴⁶ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 2, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1967-1972, Minutes of the 26th meeting of the National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, Ottawa, April 26, 1971.

⁷⁴⁷ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 20, Folder 6, Minutes of the First Annual Meeting of the N.W.T. Scout Council, October 22, 1971.

“greater and dedicated attention,” to the issue by the movement’s leaders.⁷⁴⁸ Like those before him, Bryan lamented the “marginal” success in recruiting indigenous leadership. Unlike Bill Zuk, however, Bryan did not question value of Scouting’s objectives in the North, arguing that “the Eskimo and Indian youth need programmes such as Scouting.”⁷⁴⁹

Bryan’s ambitions caused one Scout executive in Ottawa to remark that perhaps the efforts of the last few decades had been in vain. In an internal memo, Program Services Director C.B. Stafford wondered what northern Aboriginals and Inuit “see Scouting’s values to be and how do these views compare with their own cultural values?”:

It seems to me it is southern Canadian (sic) who say Scouting is good for the Eskimos or Indians. It is the southern Canadian who 'runs' Scouting in the north and he runs it largely from southern Canadian viewpoints and values. If it were left to the indigenous people to run - it would fail (at least that's the assumption and I'm not questioning it here)... What is the role for Eskimos and Northern Indians in Canada's future? Does anyone know? What influences are we exerting? What is a good Eskimo or Indian citizen? Do we know?⁷⁵⁰

Conclusion

In spite of the shift to a territorial council and a Yellowknife-based executive, the Boy Scouts struggled with the same challenges as their colleagues in Ottawa in the years prior to the creation of the new council. The makeup of the new territorial council did not change that drastically, nor did its general outlook on how to best recruit and retain indigenous leadership and participation in the movement. In 1972 the Boy Scouts had a membership of just over 1,000 boys in the Northwest Territories, yet they continued to struggle to recruit older boys and local

⁷⁴⁸ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 20, Folder 10, Northern Scouting, General, 1973, Proposed Agenda Item, 2nd Annual Commissioners' and Service Scouters' Conferences, Northwest Territories Council, Yellowknife, March 29, 1973, n.d.

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁰ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 20, Folder 10, Northern Scouting, General, 1973, C.B. Stafford (Program Services) to J.P. Ross, March 22, 1973.

indigenous leaders.⁷⁵¹ From the height of Diefenbaker's Northern Vision, to the devolution of political and administrative power from Ottawa to Yellowknife, the Boy Scouts played a central role in government and civil ambitions in the North. Scout leaders sought to both protect selected elements of Aboriginal and Inuit culture and skills while simultaneously preparing northern boys for life in the modern North. Part of ambitious state expansion in the North during the period, a period marked by high modernism, the Scout program became a key component of government education policy in the North. The attempt to bring high modernist ideals to the North – a vision of progress through planning and education – did not, however, incorporate Aboriginal or Inuit voice. Later, when officials noted the lack of enthusiasm for the movement amongst Inuit and Aboriginal parents, efforts to convince them of Scouting's usefulness were couched in a paternalistic language typical of the period. Their effort to offer "the best things from both ways of life," – which is what they had promised Inuit and Aboriginal parents – ended up being a profoundly southern selection of the "best things" as well as a method – badges, travel to southern destinations, and an emphasis on southern style training and leadership – that did not do enough to make that promise a reality.

⁷⁵¹ Boy Scouts of Canada, Northwest Territories Council, Annual Report, 1972. Detailed membership figures prior to the 1970s were not found in this research.

Chapter Six: “A Mosaic of Canadian Youth”:

Northern Nationalism and Scouting’s Canadian Arctic Jamborees, 1968-1970

In late July of 1968, over 700 Boy Scouts and Scout leaders gathered at Prelude Lake just outside of Yellowknife for the First Canadian Arctic Jamboree. They had travelled from across Canada, including the Yukon and Northwest Territories, as well as Alaska and Greenland, for the event. One young Canadian Boy Scout, when asked about the purpose of the Jamboree by a *Time* magazine reporter, explained, “We are here because this is our future.”⁷⁵² The Arctic Jamborees, held at Yellowknife in 1968 and in Churchill, Manitoba in 1970, were symbolic of the Canadian Boy Scout movement’s efforts to connect their northern and southern members in a nation-building exercise typical of the nationalist wave of the late 1960s. Organized at the height of Boy Scout Association efforts to extend its programming to the Canadian Arctic, particularly to Inuit youth, the Jamborees provided a unique public platform for the Canadian Boy Scout Association, in partnership with federal, provincial and territorial governments, to showcase the movement in the Canadian North. Over six hundred boys, almost evenly split between the southern provinces (332) and the territories and northern provincial regions (300), attended the Yellowknife Jamboree,⁷⁵³ while over 60% of the over eight hundred boys who attended the Churchill Jamboree were from northern communities.⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁵² “Arctic Jamboree,” *Time* (Canadian edition), August 16, 1968.

⁷⁵³ The official Canadian attendance was 727: 332 from the provinces; 300 from the Northwest Territories, Yukon Territory, Arctic Quebec and Labrador and 95 staff. LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 2, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1967-1972, Report on 1st Arctic and Northern Scout Jamboree, 3-10 August 1968 (and objectives for Arctic and Northern Scouting Committee) n.d;

⁷⁵⁴ Attendance at the 1970 Churchill Jamboree was slightly higher at 869 total attendees. Official reports of the Churchill Jamboree noted that over 60% of the boys at the Jamboree were from the “North” and that 60% were either “Indian” or “Eskimo”. LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 7, Northern Scouting, General, 2nd Arctic and Northern Jamboree, 1970, Mortlock to Hon. Arthur Laing, July 15, 1970; LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 8, Northern Scouting, General, 2nd Arctic and Northern Jamboree, 1970, Report: 2nd Arctic and Northern Boy Scout Jamboree, December 3, 1970.

Jamboree organizers sought to bring Canadian boys into direct contact with what Sherill Grace calls “the idea of north,” a multifaceted and dynamic use of nordicity as a keystone of Canadian distinctiveness.⁷⁵⁵ Grace’s framework borrows its title from pianist and composer Glenn Gould’s contrapuntal radio essay *The Idea of North* produced for the CBC as part of the Canadian centennial celebrations in 1967.⁷⁵⁶ Gould’s radio essay was a broader reflection on the isolation of the North (part of his larger interest in solitude and culture) and uses the perspective of five different individuals who had lived in the region to reflect upon the meanings of “North.”⁷⁵⁷ Like Gould’s multivocal discussion of the North, the Arctic Jamborees were a point of intersection of various northern visions of Boy Scout leadership and federal government officials. The Arctic and Northern Jamborees were moulded to fit the needs of the movement and the Canadian government in the North. For the Scout movement, the Jamborees provided southern Canadian boys a unique opportunity to live, play and camp alongside “men of the north,” *in* the North, reconnecting them with what they felt was a fundamentally Canadian environment. Jamboree organizers also hoped to foster a stronger sense of Canadian nationalism and citizenship in their Inuit and northern Aboriginal members, both through meeting boys from Canadian cities and by seeing firsthand some of the visible signs of an increasingly modern Canadian North. The Canadian government, meanwhile, saw in Scouting a potential means to foster indigenous leadership in the North and to protect selected elements of Inuit culture. It also provided both government and Scout officials a key setting to promote another variation of Canadian unity - this time steeped in northern nationalism. In short, the Arctic Jamborees provide a compelling intersection of the modernizing antimodernism that persisted in the Scout

⁷⁵⁵ Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North*, 12-15.

⁷⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

⁷⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 14-15; Anyssa Neumann, “Ideas of North: Glenn Gould and the Aesthetic of the Sublime,” *voiceXchange*, vol. 15, no. 1 (2011): 35-46.

movement well into the 1960s and its complexity as applied to indigenous and southern Canadian boys, Canadian visions of nordicity and the ongoing project of shaping male citizenship.

This chapter analyzes the Canadian Arctic Jamborees within the broader political and social history of the Canadian North, its peoples, and the Canadian government's efforts to assert sovereignty over the region and integrate its inhabitants into a broader northern nationalism. It argues that a close examination of the planning, promotion and staging of the Jamborees offered multiple "ideas of north" which organizers marshalled for their varying objectives. These included bringing Inuit and Aboriginal Scouts into contact with the "modern" North, which organizers felt was destined to be the economic and cultural lynchpin of Canada as well as using the more traditional geographic idea of North as leaders sought to expose southern Canadian boys to physical and cultural elements of a more antimodernist Northern nationalism. It considers the inspiration for the Jamborees and their planning as part of an attempt to boost northern nationalism and to integrate northern Aboriginals and Inuit into Canadian national life. Canadian Scout leaders and government officials felt that the Jamborees offered a great opportunity to boost the movement's efforts to build indigenous leadership capacities in the modern North, while also providing southern boys a rare taste of the last Canadian frontier.

The Jamborees thus positioned the North as an integral part of Canadian national identity. The journey to get to the Jamborees, the actual site of the camps and general activities organized for the boys were all framed as exposing Canadian youth to differing elements of what organizers felt were touchstones of Canadian national experience and Canadian citizenship. For some Inuit and Aboriginal boys this would include their first air travel, first experience of trees and forest and visits to industrial sites like mines and atmospheric rocket test range facilities.

Southern boys, meanwhile, were offered a taste of long northern summer days and the chance to learn Inuit games and crafts. Jamboree planners often boasted of the planning and technological mobilization that went into gathering boys from all over the North and south of the country in a relatively remote northern location. Modernity and its trappings, therefore, were crucial components in organizing an event that embraced antimodernist and high modernist impulses.

Finally, a discussion of what was deliberately excluded from official planning and promotion of the Jamborees, more specifically the social and economic challenges faced by northern indigenous peoples in places like Churchill and Yellowknife, reveals that both Scout organizers and government officials continued to promote carefully selected images of the North. Little effort had been made to create Aboriginal Scout troops in Yellowknife, mostly because Scout officials felt that few suitable Aboriginal leaders could be found in the community. In Churchill, meanwhile, Jamboree organizers and some Scout and government officials fretted over the possible bad press that could be generated by any attention to the government-built settlements of Dene and Inuit on the outskirts of Churchill and the poor living conditions there. Critics within the Scout movement saw Churchill as symbolic of what could happen if the “racial pride” of northern Aboriginals deteriorated further and they were to become dependent on government assistance. The modified Arctic Scouting program was meant to help mediate the vicissitudes of the changes sweeping the region, and the Jamborees became the showpiece for displaying the aspirations of the movement in Canada’s North.

The Arctic Jamborees and Canadian Expansion in the North

Jamborees - large gatherings of Boy Scouts generally more than a few days in length, generally a full week - began as international gatherings of Scouts meant to encourage

international camaraderie - the movement even modeled itself as the “Junior League of Nations.”⁷⁵⁸ These international Jamborees spurred national Jamborees around the world. Canada held its first National Jamboree at the Connaught Range near Ottawa in 1949.⁷⁵⁹ Canada hosted the first World Jamboree held outside of Europe in 1955 at Niagara-on-the-Lake in Ontario.⁷⁶⁰

The idea of an Arctic Jamboree had been discussed almost as early as the creation of the National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting. At one of the first meetings of the committee, Northwest Territories Commissioner Ben Sivertz suggested organizing a jamboree in the territories as a project for the Centennial of Confederation in 1967. Others on the committee agreed that this was an excellent idea and that exchanges more generally would help “in teaching the boys from the south something about the Indians and Eskimos.”⁷⁶¹ Chairman James Harvey loved the idea, reporting to the national Scouts executive that a “Jamboree of the North,” would be an excellent opportunity for the movement to “demonstrate the part that Scouting is playing and will continue to play in that part of Canada which may well hold the future destiny of our country within it.”⁷⁶² The national executive supported the proposal, though by 1965 the idea of organizing an Arctic Jamboree as part of the Centennial Celebrations was pushed to the side in favour of holding it in the summer of 1968 in order to avoid competing with other centennial activities both in terms of funding and public interest.⁷⁶³

⁷⁵⁸ Scott Johnston, “Looking Wide?,” 49.

⁷⁵⁹ LAC, BSC, Microfilm reel C-13939, Dominion Executive Committee Meeting Minutes, June 1946 - October, 1949, Minutes of Executive Committee meeting, Calgary, October 14, 1949. Canadian Jamborees were organized at irregular intervals until the early 1960s, when organizers decided to focus their energies on sending boys to international events. The Jamborees were revived in the 1970s.

⁷⁶⁰ Pierre Savard, “O Canada! 1955,” *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 31, no. 1 (Spring 1997) : 153-162.

⁷⁶¹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 1, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1963-1967, Minutes of the second meeting of the National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, Ottawa, March 5, 1964.

⁷⁶² LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 1, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1963-1967, Report of the Arctic and Northern Committee for Scouting, October 16-17, 1964.

⁷⁶³ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 1, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1963-1967, Minutes, Fourth meeting of the National Committee on Arctic and Northern

The federal government also embraced the idea of an Arctic Jamboree. Arthur Laing, Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, was a staunch supporter of the Scout movement, and the Department had a long history of supporting the movement's activities in the North.⁷⁶⁴ When the idea of the Jamboree was first brought to his attention, he enthusiastically endorsed it, arguing, "I wouldn't be surprised if one of the best things we could do for the North would be upgrading of the Scout Movement."⁷⁶⁵ Throughout 1966 and early 1967 Scout officials and bureaucrats in Northern Affairs worked together on a shared funding agreement to cover roughly half the costs of the Jamboree for Inuit and Aboriginal Scouts. In the words of Assistant Deputy Minister J.H. Gordon, the Department supported the venture because, "[t]he kind of experience gained by Eskimo and Indian scouts through participation in this Jamboree has definite value in relation to the development of indigenous leadership."⁷⁶⁶ Accordingly, the Northwest Territories Commission doubled its annual grant to the Scouts in 1967 in preparation for the Jamboree.⁷⁶⁷

Aside from providing funding to cover some of the costs of the event, Laing used his ministerial powers to lobby the Minister of National Defence, Léo Cadieux, to provide valuable airlift and staff support to bring supplies and boys to the Jamboree. Laing pitched the event as a crucial one for Canadian unity "since it will assist in bringing together, for the first time, significant numbers of Boy Scouts from all over Canada including the Arctic. Its value to our

Scouting, Ottawa, February 18, 1965. Many committee members feared that the focus on centennial celebrations would distract from a northern Jamboree.

⁷⁶⁴ Laing's title changed with a departmental reorganization in October of 1966 to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development See: Library of Parliament, Members of the House of Commons: Historical Information Since 1867 (<http://www.parl.gc.ca/Parlinfo/Files/Parliamentarian.aspx?Item=355fae5e-9d52-46cc-a5dd-2658a81a0ea7&Language=E&Section=ALL>), accessed on November 4, 2011,

⁷⁶⁵ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a , Accession 1997-98/076 , Box 126, File : 660-7, Part 8, Boy Scouts Association, 1966-1968, E.A. Côté (Deputy Minister) to Minister Laing, October 13, 1966 (Laing's response written by hand in margin).

⁷⁶⁶ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a , Accession 1997-98/076 , Box 126, File : 660-7, Part 8, Boy Scouts Association, 1966-1968, Gordon to Stuart Hodgson, January 6, 1967.

⁷⁶⁷ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a , Accession 1997-98/076 , Box 126, File : 660-7, Part 8, Boy Scouts Association, 1966-1968, Hodgson to Laing, February 28, 1967.

national unity and further development as a nation is, in my opinion, difficult to exaggerate.”⁷⁶⁸

National Defence officials evidently agreed with the laudable aims of the event, as the department provided three C-130 (Hercules) aircraft for airlift of supplies and Scouts to Yellowknife.⁷⁶⁹

The Boy Scout Association also applied for and received funding from the Secretary of State for Citizenship’s Travel and Exchange Division program, which had been set up to encourage travel exchanges between youth in diverse regions of the country as part of the centennial celebrations. In the description of the goals of the Jamboree to departmental officials, Scout executive Bert Mortlock again emphasized the nation-building potential of such a venture. He argued it would enable “northern boys who seldom have the opportunity to meet and associate with boys from southern Canada to do so in a setting of Scout activity with which they are familiar,” as well as helping “southern boys the better to understand the type of country in which northern boys live, their problems, their hopes and aspirations and to have the opportunity through association to learn of their customs and traditions.”⁷⁷⁰

The Churchill Jamboree was also pitched in similar terms to government and private sponsors. Planned to coincide with the centennial of the Northwest Territories and Manitoba, Churchill was chosen as a means of highlighting the northern port’s role in northern planning. In his funding request to Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Jean Chrétien, Arctic and Northern Scouting Committee Chairman Bill Carr argued that “ [t]he people at Churchill naturally tend to think of themselves as Northerners rather than as Manitobans.

⁷⁶⁸ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 9, Northern Scouting; 1st Arctic Jamboree (1968), 1968, Laing to Cadieux, June 14, 1968.

⁷⁶⁹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 9, Northern Scouting; 1st Arctic Jamboree (1968), 1968, Brigadier, H. Doucet, Executive Assistant to Leo Cadieux, Minister of National Defence, to Arthur Laing, June 17, 1968.

⁷⁷⁰ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 10, Northern Scouting; 1st Arctic Jamboree (1968), 1968, Mortlock to Travel and Exchange Division, Dept. of Secretary of State, January 18, 1968.

Whether this is correct or not is immaterial but a very large measure of Federal activity in that area, particularly on behalf of the large Eskimo and Indian population reinforces this kind of natural thinking.”⁷⁷¹ Carr also argued that the Jamboree’s “impact goes way beyond what appears at the surface and, in fact, gathering boys from the different cultures and speaking different languages breaks down divisive influences which adults tend to highlight and overemphasize. In other words, indirectly, Canadian identity is reinforced and a cohesive feeling of National (sic) unity spontaneously emerges among the youth.”⁷⁷² Carr expressed similar ambitions for the potential of the Churchill Jamboree in a letter to Defence Minister Léo Cadieux requesting airlift support from his department:

[...] artificially imposed adult cultural barriers disappear when a mosaic of Canadian youth is assembled as we did in Yellowknife. A process of osmosis seems to take hold and cultural, linguistic and even real or imaginary social status nonsense evaporates. Pulling together youth in this way obviously is of real value in terms of national unity and identity even though its impact may not be felt until the youth become adults. In summary, the value of a gathering such as this is not only a means to provide a challenging and rewarding individual experience to boys, but it also fosters a feeling of national awareness and pride.⁷⁷³

Carr continued with this nation-building motif in requests to private corporations working in the North. In a letter to the Hudson’s Bay Company, for instance, Carr offered that “The long association of the Company with the North, its prestige as a Canadian ‘institution,’ and its reputation for objective planning toward the future,” would make it a natural fit to support objectives of the Jamboree:

The Jamboree serves to pull together English and French, Indian and Eskimo, on a common meeting ground where they can realize that they are not as different from each other as their parents and older people tend to think they are. Obviously, Scouting

⁷⁷¹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 3, Northern Scouting; 2nd Arctic Jamboree (1970), 1969, Carr to Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, September 4, 1969.

⁷⁷² Ibid.

⁷⁷³ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 3, Northern Scouting; 2nd Arctic Jamboree (1970), Carr to Cadieux, September 8, 1969.

activities of this nature can do nothing but benefit Canada in the long run and serve to provide an added cohesiveness to Canada as a nation.⁷⁷⁴

Finally, in his invitation to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau to attend the Jamboree, Carr argued that Churchill offered a unique venue for “bringing together of East, West, North and South, Anglophone, Eskimo, Francophone, and Indian, in an atmosphere of harmony, respect, and interdependence. In this atmosphere, subtle influences impinge on youthful emotions and unwittingly generate a sense of national identity and unity.”⁷⁷⁵

This emphasis on national unity was a common refrain in a variety of spheres of Canadian life in the mid-1960s. Federal Centennial funding programs frequently referred to national unity and national pride in their program objectives.⁷⁷⁶ The ability of federal funding programs to shape public discourse and community projects was not limited to Centennial celebrations; a number of government departments sought to use their funding to shape civic organizational activity in fields as varied as women’s rights, arts and culture, French-language rights activism, ethnocultural community activism and international human rights efforts.⁷⁷⁷ Though the Jamborees took place after the peak of national celebrations for the centennial, they clearly still drew upon some of the same aspirations of nation building and unifying activity as those that took place in 1967. Unlike many Centennial events, however, the Jamborees proposed

⁷⁷⁴ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 5, Northern Scouting, General, 2nd Arctic and Northern Jamboree, 1970, Carr to J.R. Murray, Managing Director, The Hudson’s Bay Company, March 9, 1970. The HBC contributed \$1,500 to the Jamboree, LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 6, Northern Scouting, General, 2nd Arctic and Northern Jamboree, 1970, Mortlock to D.H. Pitts, General Manager, Northern Stores Department, Hudson’s Bay Company, May 14, 1970.

⁷⁷⁵ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 7, Northern Scouting, General, 2nd Arctic and Northern Jamboree, 1970, Carr to Pierre Trudeau, June 16, 1970. Trudeau’s secretary replied that, due to scheduling conflicts, the Prime Minister would not be able to attend.

⁷⁷⁶ Helen Davies, “The Politics of Participation: A Study of Canada’s Centennial Celebration,” (PhD Disstertation, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1999), 81-152.

⁷⁷⁷ Leslie Pal, *Interests of State: The Politics of Language, Multiculturalism and Feminism in Canada*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993); Dominique Clément, *Canada’s Rights Revolution: Social Movements and Social Change, 1937-1982* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008); Gregory Klages, “ ‘Will the Establishment Finance the Revolution?’ Canadian Arts Advocacy Groups, the Federal Government, and Development of Arts Policies, 1963-1972,” (PhD dissertation: York University, 2008).

to bring southern boys into direct contact with the Canadian North while simultaneously bringing a large number of indigenous boys together with their southern Scout brethren in a national celebration.

The assumed benefits for northern indigenous leadership formed the final plank of Scout funding proposals. In his request to the Manitoba government to include the Jamboree on the Queen's Manitoba centennial tour itinerary, Carr noted that the purpose of Scouting in the Canadian North, more particularly the Jamboree, was "to foster and encourage the development of a Canadian identity and awareness among the indigenous population, particularly throughout the areas of the Yukon, NWT, Northern Quebec and Labrador and the Northern portions of the Provinces."⁷⁷⁸ The Scout Association's application for a second grant from the Travel and Exchange Division of the Department of the Secretary of State focused on the mutual potential benefits for northern Aboriginal Scouts attending the Jamboree in mixing with white boys: "It is intended that this be both a learning and social experience by mixing boys of Indian, Eskimo and white cultures; permitting them to live, play and compete together, and thus learn something of each others (sic) way of life and environment, and an understanding of the manner in which each lives and develops."⁷⁷⁹ Low enrolment in the movement in the North continued to pose a challenge for the movement; normally only boys with a first class Scout standing could qualify to attend Jamborees. Given the low number of northern Scouts who had achieved this level,

⁷⁷⁸ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 3, Northern Scouting; 2nd Arctic Jamboree (1970), 1969, Carr to Derek Bedson, September 25, 1969.

⁷⁷⁹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 5, Northern Scouting, General, 2nd Arctic and Northern Jamboree, 1970, Application-Request for Grant, Travel and Exchange Division, Secretary of State, January 6, 1970.

Scout officials agreed to lower the standard for northern Scouts wishing to attend the Jamboree while maintaining it for boys from southern centres.⁷⁸⁰

Modern Jamborees for a Modern North

Getting to Yellowknife and Churchill was very much part of the Arctic Jamboree experience. Bringing boys from various isolated outposts and settlements across the Canadian North to Yellowknife and Churchill proved a significant logistical challenge. Similarly, bringing southern Canadian youth to these relatively isolated northern centres offered additional logistical challenges. The Canadian military provided three C-130 (Hercules) aircraft for airlift of supplies and northern Scouts to Yellowknife.⁷⁸¹ They also provided similar support for the Churchill Jamboree, organized in an operation dubbed “Operation Midnight Sun,” (Figure 6).⁷⁸² As an article in the military’s magazine for personnel noted, northern air command personnel were pleased to be able to transport “cargoes of happiness” in the form of young Scouts instead of their usual payload.⁷⁸³ Southern Canadian Scouts, meanwhile, were primarily assembled in Winnipeg, where close to 400 boys and their leaders boarded a special “Jamboree train” destined for Churchill. The train stopped en route in Thompson and The Pas, receiving special welcome by local community associations for pancake breakfasts and banquets.⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁸⁰ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73 Vol. 18, Folder 1, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1963-1967, Minutes of the twelfth meeting of the National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, Ottawa, June 9, 1967.

⁷⁸¹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73 Vol. 18, Folder 9, Northern Scouting; 1st Arctic Jamboree (1968), 1968, Brigadier, H. Doucet to Arthur Laing, June 17, 1968.

⁷⁸² James Harding, “Operation Midnight Sun ‘70,” *Canadian Forces Sentinel*, November/December 1970, 25-26.

⁷⁸³ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁴ “Churchill-Bound Scouts Feted at Thompson,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 8, 1970, 60.



Figure 6 - Scouts on their way to Churchill with Canadian military personnel. Source: James Harding, "Operation Midnight Sun '70," *Canadian Forces Sentinel*, November/December 1970, 25-26.

Alex Stevenson, a Northern Affairs official and Scout supporter, wrote an article about the Yellowknife Jamboree for *World Scouting* magazine. Stevenson described the gathering as "a unique event in the history of the north."⁷⁸⁵ He described in detail the logistical effort that was required to bring all Jamboree participants "by air, train and bus," to Edmonton where "four huge Air Force Hercules transports," carried them and other northern contingents to Yellowknife. Some special flights came from as far away as "Goose Bay and Wasbush (sic) in Labrador, from Baker Lake, Great Whale River, Frobisher, and Hall Beach, from Norman Wells, Inuvik, Cape Parry, Nicholson Point and Cambridge Bay, and from Whitehorse in the Yukon."⁷⁸⁶ In his report back to government officials, Jamboree organizer Bill Carr noted that getting Scouts to Yellowknife had required a rather complex level of planning with agencies such as the United States Air Force, the Danish government, the RCMP, scheduled airlines, aircraft charter, trains, buses, and "even" private sector motor cars to get boys to various pick-up points. In the North,

⁷⁸⁵ Alex Stevenson, "'Arctic Jamboree,'" *World Scouting*, Vol. 5, 1 (1969), 9, 29.

⁷⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

meanwhile, boys used more traditional methods to get to points where Canadian Forces aircraft could pick them up, including bush planes, small outboard-equipped boats and “Eskimo canoes.”⁷⁸⁷ For some northern boys, Carr argued, traveling to the Jamborees was their first experience of even a small bush plane, let alone massive military transport planes. For Stevenson and Carr, these Jamborees were made possible by technology and the support of the Canadian government, but they also highlighted the unique demands of organizing such an event in the North. Federal Minister Arthur Laing, speaking at the opening of the Jamboree, echoed this spirit of triumphant mobilization of northern and southern technologies in arguing that the Jamboree was “the most important and impressive assembly of human beings ever brought together in the Northwest Territories.”⁷⁸⁸

The Jamborees were, of course, about more than the journey required to get there. The sites for both the 1968 and 1970 Jamborees, in addition to the activities at both events, were quite deliberately chosen and crafted by the government and Scout officials on the planning committee to offer boys elements of both southern and northern Canadian geography and culture. The geographic features of the sites, as well as industrial and military activities in both areas promised distinctive experiences for southern and northern Scouts. Yellowknife, for instance, represented an opportunity to both expose northern boys to a more urban reality while giving southern boys a taste of the North. Jamboree Camp Chief Bill Carr noted that the committee chose Prelude Lake because of its proximity to Yellowknife and that it represented “neutral territory” for an exchange between north and south as “it possessed trees and a relatively

⁷⁸⁷ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 2, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1967-1972, Report on 1st Arctic and Northern Scout Jamboree, 3-10 August 1968 (and objectives for Arctic and Northern Scouting Committee).

⁷⁸⁸ “Laing Opens Jamboree,” *News of the North*, August, 8, 1968. Laing had switched Cabinet portfolios and was then the Minister of Public Works.

sophisticated suburban environment, which many Eskimo Scouts had never seen; whereas, to the southern boys it represented the edge of the Arctic unknown.”⁷⁸⁹

Carr again noted these two features of Yellowknife in a letter to Canadian Scouts selected to participate in the Jamboree in the months leading up to the event. Carr informed the boys that the Jamboree would be “the first time that so many Scouts from southern and northern Canada will have the opportunity to meet and camp together for a whole week.”⁷⁹⁰ He also took care to point out Yellowknife’s modern amenities:

For you Scouts from southern Canada, I should remind you that you are not going to camp in barren countryside. Prelude Lake Park is a beautiful spot, well treed and offering many attractions. The temperature will likely range around the 70 degree mark in the day-time and 50 to 55 at night. Yellowknife itself is a modern community and you will be spending most of one day in the new capital of the Northwest Territories, visiting the Museum of the North, a gold mine, swimming at the town beach, and shopping in Yellowknife’s modern stores.⁷⁹¹

Carr thus deliberately emphasized the modernity of Yellowknife, a tactic likely meant more to calm nervous parents than to excite the boys’ imaginations. Nevertheless, his emphasis on the modern amenities they would enjoy and the modern sites they would visit certainly accentuated that this was the modern Canadian North, and not a harsh and uninhabited wilderness, that they would be visiting.

Media coverage of the Jamboree drew on similarly contrasting imagery of the northern climate and modernity in describing the Jamboree and the Scouts attending. *Time* magazine’s Canadian edition ran a short article on the Jamboree shortly after its staging. Noting that Scouts at the camp had the opportunity to participate in “such uniquely northern activities as learning to

⁷⁸⁹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 2, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1967-1972, Report on 1st Arctic and Northern Scout Jamboree, August 3-10, 1968 (and objectives for Arctic and Northern Scouting Committee) n.d.

⁷⁹⁰ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a, Accession 1997-98/076, Box 126, File : 660-7, Part 9, Boy Scouts Association, 1968-1970, W.K. Carr to Scouts attending Arctic Jamboree, n.d.

⁷⁹¹ Ibid.

sew sealskin boots and dining on barbecued buffalo and Great Slave Lake trout,” the author noted the envy that southern Scouts felt for the unique northern proficiency badges worn by their northern brethren.⁷⁹² One journalist noted, in a rather surprised tone, that the archery range activities offered to Scouts, “revealed that the Indian boys were not particularly proficient with bows and arrows,” while “for boys who had never been south of the tree line, the jamboree offered a long anticipated thrill. Billy Audlakiak, from Broughton Island, needed no prompting when he saw the first trees of his life. He climbed the tallest he could find.”⁷⁹³ A special supplement in the Yellowknife newspaper *News of the North* on the Jamboree also focused on the intersection of northern and southern experiences offered by the camp at Prelude Lake. After again describing Inuit boys’ fascination with trees, the author highlighted how “the hardy southerners found it rather novel and difficult. David Nadeau, a twenty-one year old Scoutmaster from Toronto had been told to expect day temperatures in the 70’s and found the low 60’s chilly. “I expected to be swimming every day”.”⁷⁹⁴

Alex Stevenson echoed these impressions in his coverage of the Jamboree for *World Scouting* magazine. Southern Scouts not only got to interact with young Eskimo Scouts, he argued, but they could buy elements of the experience to bring home with them. Stevenson describes how “three hundred pounds of soapstone was flown in from Baker Lake, and the southern boys were apt pupils of the Eskimos in the art of stone carving. There was no lack of spending money among the northern boys, who had brought a good supply of carvings, both wood and stone, and other handicrafts which found a ready market among the southern contingents.”⁷⁹⁵ Inuit Scouts thus experienced the “south” by climbing trees and playing, while

⁷⁹² “Arctic Jamboree,” *Time* (Canadian edition), August 16, 1968.

⁷⁹³ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁴ “First Arctic Jamboree,” Special Supplement to *News of the North*.

⁷⁹⁵ Alex Stevenson, ““Arctic Jamboree,” *World Scouting*, Vol. 5, 1 (1969), 9.

southern boys were portrayed as intellectual and economic consumers, learning some Inuit hobbies and buying their handiwork.

The Churchill Arctic Jamboree of 1970 provided similar opportunities for experiencing the modern North. In a submission to the Manitoba government to seek the provincial government's blessing to have the Queen visit the Jamboree as part of her Centennial tour of Manitoba, Carr argued that Churchill was chosen both because of the centralized services it could provide as well as its geographical location between northern and southern Canada:

While not truly in the Arctic, there is no question but that the people in the area (sic) view themselves as Northerners, and the location, which is situated on the edge of the tree-line, gives the visitor a feeling of being on the edge of the "great unknown North". At the same time, sufficient trees and vegetation exist to create the impression with the Northern boy that he is in a different environment which is adjacent to a relatively sophisticated economy.⁷⁹⁶

Carr repeated some of his descriptive language used to describe Prelude Lake in his appraisal of the mixed landscape of Churchill and the Jamboree site, Camp Nanuk, for the 1970 Jamboree in a letter to boys preparing to attend the Jamboree:

Camping at Camp Nanook (sic) (Polar Bear) will be quite different from any place you have camped before. Here on the southwest shore of Hudson Bay you are right on the very edge of the tree line. The trees, many of them more than half a century old, are quite stunted and they grow in sparse soil atop the permafrost. You will not want to damage any tree - they are precious at Churchill [...] the water [in nearby shallow lakes] should be warm enough at that time of year for swimming – although it will not be as warm as you southerners are accustomed to.⁷⁹⁷

Carr also provided a lengthy human history of the Churchill region, which largely ignored any Aboriginal presence prior to European exploration and emphasized the traces of European handiwork in the region, such as Fort Prince of Wales, the HBC Factory, the railway terminal,

⁷⁹⁶ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 3, Northern Scouting; 2nd Arctic Jamboree (1970), 1969, Carr to Derek Bedson, Clerk of the Executive Council of Manitoba, September 25, 1969.

⁷⁹⁷ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 6, Northern Scouting, General, 2nd Arctic and Northern Jamboree, 1970, "A Letter from the Jamboree Camp Chief, Major-General W.K. Carr," April 8, 1970.

National Defence rocket test ranges and “the largest grain elevators in the world.” Only after listing the impressive dimensions of cargo and grain terminals in the port did Carr finally mention that the region also “boasts quite the finest museum of Eskimo and Indian art, and arctic flora and fauna and animal life in all Canada,” as well as a residential and vocational school.⁷⁹⁸ Press releases from Scout headquarters in Ottawa also highlighted the potential for cultural exchange in describing the Jamboree program. Southern Scouts, argued one communiqué, would have the chance to join Scouts from all over the Canadian North to take part in “interesting and exciting activities of the Indian and Eskimo cultures - travois races, ajaraq (ear pull), tunmmijuk (a pushing contest) and snowshoe races. At the Skillorama, groups will demonstrate leatherwork, soapstone carving, native dancing, singing and music.”⁷⁹⁹

At the national level, then, the Scout Association promoted the Churchill Jamboree as a nation-building exercise where boys from all over the country would learn by camping and playing with other boys about the diversity of the country and its many cultures within the confines of a Scout forum. Carr also told the boys that the Queen would be officially opening the Jamboree and reminded them of the importance of the occasion. Carr described the opportunity for learning about others and its importance to the future of Canada that the Jamboree offered:

I know each one of you is proud of the cultural background which you have inherited from your forebears. The boys of different cultures you will meet at Churchill will be anxious to learn of your way of life, and I am sure you will want to learn of theirs. This association will help you in no small way to play the important yet difficult task of helping to build in this country a great nation of multi-cultural backgrounds.⁸⁰⁰

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 5, Northern Scouting, General, 2nd Arctic and Northern Jamboree, 1970, Boy Scouts Canada, Press Release, March 26, 1970.

⁸⁰⁰ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 6, Northern Scouting, General, 2nd Arctic and Northern Jamboree, 1970, “A Letter from the Jamboree Camp Chief, Major-General W.K. Carr,” April 8, 1970.

Carr and others on the Northern and Arctic Scouting committee were convinced that the Jamborees had significant national value. In his report to the national executive after the Yellowknife Jamboree, for instance, Carr argued that “[t]he north is a meeting ground where artificial social, cultural, and economic barriers become transparent and osmosis of thoughts produces solutions to apparent adult problems,” and that the boys present at the Jamboree realized that “behind the facade of social status and environment, Canadians, regardless of their background, do by and large think and want the same things for Canada.”⁸⁰¹

Do They Understand What is Going On? Assessing the Jamborees

While Carr was effusive in his assessment of the success of the first Arctic Jamboree and media coverage, though limited, tended to fall on the positive side of the ledger, others were not quite so enthusiastic in their evaluation of the event. The Secretary of State for Citizenship’s grant to the Scouts, through the Travel and Exchange Program, came with the condition that observers attend the Jamboree and file a report. While no government evaluation of the Churchill Jamboree appears to have been recorded, the criticisms levelled against the Yellowknife Jamboree echo some of the challenges of the Churchill Jamboree. The department delegated this responsibility to the Canadian Citizenship Council, which hired Jean-Guy Morriset - a graduate student in psychology at the University of Ottawa who had just finished a 2 year stint volunteering with Canadian University Services Overseas (CUSO) teaching in Burundi – and his younger brother Paul for the task of evaluating the Yellowknife Jamboree.⁸⁰² The two brothers spent the Jamboree in the camp, visiting various provincial delegations and observing the

⁸⁰¹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 2, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1967-1972, Report on 1st Arctic and Northern Scout Jamboree, 3-10 August 1968 (and objectives for Arctic and Northern Scouting Committee) n.d.

⁸⁰² LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 9, Northern Scouting; 1st Arctic Jamboree (1968), 1968, Arthur Stinson, Executive Director, Canadian Citizenship Council, to Mortlock, July 3, 1968.

activities organized for the boys. Their report provided a lengthy analysis of the various facets of the Jamboree program. Overall, the brothers concluded that the Jamboree itself was a success in the sense that it provided a “profound maturing experience for the boys,” and praised the success of staging such a large event in the North. They critiqued, however, the rather grandiose national objectives of the Jamboree, arguing that Scout Association “is exaggerating when they quote as an aim ‘a better appreciation of what each can contribute to the development of Canada and for those from the South, a better understanding of the problems, hopes and ambitions of the scouts of the North’ ...the aims were never discussed in these terms with the troop leaders who were working with the youngsters.”⁸⁰³ Furthermore, they argued that the “exchange” element of the event was not as rich as it should have been, since many boys were kept in their regional and provincial contingents in the camp and little time was devoted to getting the boys to mix with others in a meaningful way.⁸⁰⁴

Though they acknowledged that they could not “expect miracles” in a week-long camp, they argued that, by keeping the boys together in their regional or community patrol groupings, Jamboree organizers created an environment where there was little incentive to move beyond a boy’s immediate circle of friends in games and activities save to swap badges or acquire necessary information needed for a given activity. Failure by leaders to more actively guide interactions between the boys, or to encourage them to discuss their impressions of the sites they visited and of activities they took part in reinforced the Jamboree’s inability to live up to the Exchange program’s mandate of encouraging the “reciprocal influence that makes itself felt in

⁸⁰³ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 2, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1967-1972, Boy Scouts of Canada (National Council - Arctic Northern Jamboree, Jean-Guy and Paul Morrisette (sic)) n.d.

⁸⁰⁴ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 2, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1967-1972, Boy Scouts of Canada (National Council - Arctic Northern Jamboree, Jean-Guy and Paul Morrisette (sic)) n.d.

the communication between the participants themselves and more precisely, between scouts of the North and the South, between English, Eskimo, French and Indian.” Both brothers acknowledged, however, that their ability to measure the level of exchange between the boys was limited to their own observations and talking with the older campers and their leaders, as “it is not easy to obtain the opinion of the participants,” due to their young age.⁸⁰⁵

Aside from their criticism of the “exchange” component of the Jamboree, both brothers agreed that the event succeeded in bringing boys from the North and South together in a location which was “as unknown to the Eskimo as to the chap from Ontario. The latter will be impressed by the cold and the long days, the others by the trees they see for the first time and the new birds, and the spectacle of the lakes.”⁸⁰⁶ In spite of the ability of the location to broaden the boys’ experience of Canadian geography, the authors again wondered whether boys from the southern parts of the country truly understood the challenges facing the Inuit of the North. Though the Inuit youth may have gained in confidence during the camp (something which the authors felt most northern indigenous youth lacked), they wondered whether “the young Scouts who are not aware of the Eskimo problem understand what is going on? Do the leaders think of explaining the problem to them?”⁸⁰⁷

Scout Association officials, particularly Bill Carr, took umbrage with the criticisms of the brothers’ report. Carr wrote the Director of the Travel and Exchange Division to air his objections to some of the observations made in the report. Carr conceded that, even though the objectives of the Jamboree were difficult to translate “to definite terms,” the overall aim of

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid.

Scouting, “to assist in the development of good citizens and through this, to contribute to Canadian unity and maturation as a nation,” remained an important one:

While aims may not be achieved completely, one of the intangible forces which perpetuates and stimulates Scouting is the statement of aims which are hard to achieve...Therefore, an error of commission, if this is what it was, is far better than an error of omission which many complacent Canadian citizens are guilty of.⁸⁰⁸

Carr went on to explain that a variety of policies at the Jamboree – keeping boys in their local troops and patrols, for instance, rather than deliberately mixing them upon arrival – were based on both the age-specific abilities of the boys to handle such situations and previous experience. “A Jamboree is not intended to be a formal experience,” he explained, “but instead, is intended to provide an exposure and through an osmosis process, instil an appreciation of values and respect in the participant. Post-activity and follow-up is a personal thing which we would be reluctant to introduce because it could well result in a back-lash and reverse effect on the expansion of the Scouting Movement.”⁸⁰⁹

Carr ended his letter by arguing that youth programs that were “artificial” or overly directed often failed to meet their objectives: “Just as water seeks its own level, so does the total cross-section of Canadian youth involved in Scouting, sometimes clear away artificially imposed formalities and establish their own means to the end. Thoughts and ideas cannot be imposed on today’s youth, but the thinking about and appreciation of these ideas can be developed and encouraged among them.”⁸¹⁰ Carr’s letter generated little in the way of response from the Travel

⁸⁰⁸ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 2, Northern Scouting, Minutes - National Committee on Arctic and Northern Scouting, 1967-1972, Carr to René Prefontaine, Chief, Travel and Exchange Division, Canadian Citizenship Branch, Department of the Secretary of State, January 13, 1969.

⁸⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁸¹⁰ Ibid.

and Exchange Division.⁸¹¹ The difference of opinion, however, reveals how the Boy Scout Association and its executives, both volunteer and professional, were quick to defend the organization from criticism by emphasizing its national importance and the expertise of their leaders in working with children. Carr's arguments, written with a distinctive tone of authority both in matters of the North and Canadian Scouting, reveal the continued conviction of Scout leaders that their work continued to have national importance, while simultaneously acknowledging that some of these nationalist goals may be lost in translation on their young charges. Beyond the newspaper coverage and promotional material related to the Jamborees, there is very little extant record of participating boys' experiences and perspectives, which makes testing these contested interpretations of the significance of the Jamborees, difficult.

Ideas of North and Challenging Realities

A second charge laid against Jamboree organizers – that the Jamboree in Yellowknife had not properly prepared southern boys to appreciate the “Eskimo problem” – remained unanswered. Scouting officials were aware of the challenges facing northern communities like Yellowknife and Churchill, but preferred to keep them out of the spotlight in staging the Jamborees. In Yellowknife, the low Aboriginal and Inuit participation in the town's Scout troops and Cub packs, and their absence at the first Jamboree, was blamed on the notion that “it seems impossible up until now to find Indians of character who could provide the right kind of leadership.”⁸¹² The Scout movement's planning and promotion of the Churchill Jamboree skirted many of the social and economic problems of local indigenous populations. Churchill, as

⁸¹¹ Scout headquarters received an acknowledgement of receipt of the letter and a promise to pursue discussions at a later date, though no subsequent communications on the matter were located. LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 1, Northern Scouting; 2nd Arctic Jamboree (1970), 1969, Michael Clague, National Liaison Officer, Travel and Exchange Division, to William Carr, February 11, 1969.

⁸¹² LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 18, Folder 10, Northern Scouting; 1st Arctic Jamboree (1968), 1968, Mortlock “Scouting with Indian and Eskimo Boys” November 21, 1968.

Jamboree organizers pointed out in their promotional efforts, offered a prime example of modern life in the Canadian North with its modern port, massive grain elevators and rail access. The daily reality for many of the community's indigenous peoples was, however, much more grim as the community was deeply divided by social and economic inequality. An area of the town known as "The Flats" was often derided for derelict housing and its mixed population of Métis and Aboriginals who had either moved, or been forced to move, to the town in order to receive health care, training or other government services. Moreover, various government relocation efforts of Dene, Chipewyan and Inuit inhabitants of the Keewatin and northern Manitoba regions had created small settlements – Akudlik for relocated Inuit and Dene Village for relocated Dene from the area - on the outskirts of the port, where Aboriginals and Inuit often lived in appalling conditions.⁸¹³

Past residents of these communities, particularly Dene Village, have testified, in stark detail, about the conditions and social upheaval many Aboriginals faced in the community. Their stories and experiences make no mention of Scouting and speak starkly of the poor housing, poverty and inadequate services they received and the racism residents faced from Churchill residents.⁸¹⁴ Peter Mansbridge worked in Churchill during this time and volunteered as a Scout master in Dene Village. Mansbridge describes Churchill in the late 1960s as "a microcosm of the Canadian Aboriginal story," because of its mixed population and segregated communities. In conditions he describes as "awful" Mansbridge points out that areas like Dene Village were beset

⁸¹³ For more on the relocations that led to the development of both Akudlik and Dene Village see, John Sandlos, *Hunters at the Margin: Native People and Wildlife Conservation in the Northwest Territories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007) 218-230; Ila Bussidor and Üstün Bilgen-Reinart, *Night Spirits: the Story of the Relocation of the Sayisi Dene* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1997), Marcus, *Relocating Eden: The Image and Politics of Inuit Exile in the Canadian Arctic* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1995), 129-130; Virginia Petch, "Relocation and Loss of Homeland: The Story of the Sayisi Dene of Northern Manitoba," (PhD dissertation: University of Manitoba, 1998); Ravindra Lal, "From Duck Lake to Camp 10. Old Fashioned Relocation", *The Musk-Ox* 6 (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, Institute for Northern Studies, 1969), 5-13.

⁸¹⁴ See, for instance, Bussidor and Reinart, *Night Spirits*.

“by unemployment, liquor and despair, rarely a month would go by without the village facing some form of terrible tragedy – a car crash, a brutal rape, a suicide, a family burned to death in a home fire.”⁸¹⁵

Some Scout officials working on the ground in northern Manitoba opposed the selection of Churchill for the second Arctic Jamboree because of the potential negative public image of northern development it might generate. John Parkin, Scout Commissioner for the Keewatin region and a federal government employee in the region, pointed out to Carr and Denny May, a fellow Jamboree planning committee member, that Churchill “is a place where Indian and Eskimo meet under the worst possible conditions and it is (although I say it) an example of the worst we can do in the trusteeship of indigenous peoples.”⁸¹⁶ While Scout Relationship Director Bert Mortlock agreed with Parkin’s concerns about Churchill’s suitability, he also conceded that Carr was determined to hold the Jamboree in Churchill and that it seemed a logical choice given its central location and potential camp site.⁸¹⁷

In light of some of these concerns, Jamboree organizers argued that Scouting could provide much-needed assistance for the community. In a letter to Assistant RCMP Commissioner G.W. Mudge seeking the support of the local detachment in Churchill to organize the Jamboree, Carr offered that the solution to avoiding delinquency problems or “problems with adults” was to “give good training to kids,” particularly in a community such as Churchill,

⁸¹⁵ Peter Mansbridge, *Peter Mansbridge One on One: Favourite Conversations and the Stories Behind Them* (Toronto: Random House Canada, 2009), 240. Mansbridge argues that his brief tenure as Scoutmaster in Churchill was an eye-opening experience, “I think they [Scouts] taught me more than I ever taught them,” 240.

⁸¹⁶ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 2, Northern Scouting; 2nd Arctic Jamboree (1970), 1969, Parkin to Carr, May 2, 1969; Parkin to Denny May, May 5, 1969.

⁸¹⁷ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 2, Northern Scouting; 2nd Arctic Jamboree (1970), 1969, Mortlock to May, May 21, 1969. Carr had negotiated the purchase of the land for the camp site from the Department of National Defence, which was no longer using the property.

where, he admitted, “a definite need exists.”⁸¹⁸ Carr was undoubtedly aware of the social stratification and problems in Churchill, as he had travelled the region extensively during a stint working with a unit of the military tasked with mapping the North in the early postwar years. He chose, then, to pitch the Jamboree differently to the public or senior government officials than to those with more direct contact and experience in the region. The Arctic and Northern Scouting Committee was also aware of the challenges faced by the community. In a field report filed earlier that summer, Scout Commissioner William Zuk described in relative detail the geographic and social divisions he observed in Churchill and offered the following explanation for them:

This community has one of the most diversified cultural mosaics amongst the northern communities in the Central Arctic. It has treaty Chipewyan natives; Cree, some of whom are treaty, Métis, Eskimo, and whites. These cultural groups remain to a great extent separate from each other with regard to locality...The Scouting movement at the Churchill army base appears to be strong and draws much of its membership from the white population. Another Scout troop operating in the main part of Churchill seems to draw its membership largely from the native population. Amongst the various ethnic groups there is reason to believe that a great deal of segregation occurs on a general community level. The problems of cultural segregation have been maximized for various reasons:

1. Discriminatory attitudes from non-treaty Indian towards the treaty Indians who receive compensation from the government.
2. Feeling of superiority towards other Indian groups by the Métis who have achieved some mobility in the white society.
3. Attitudes of acceptance by whites toward the Eskimo who have also achieved a degree of mobility in the white society.
4. Establishment of the dominant white society as a superior group.⁸¹⁹

Zuk didn't comment on the poor housing conditions in government-funded settlements for displaced Aboriginals, nor of any government culpability in the matter, noting instead that the

⁸¹⁸ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 3, Northern Scouting; 2nd Arctic Jamboree (1970), 1969, Carr to Assistant RCMP Commissioner G.W. Mudge, September 4, 1969.

⁸¹⁹ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a, Accession 1997-98/076, Box 126, File : 660-7, Part 9, Boy Scouts Association, 1968-1970, Committee for Northern Scouting Report, submitted by William Zuk, n.d.

divisions likely had to do with racial and cultural “suspicions and discriminatory attitudes each group has for one another.” Scouting, he argued, should incorporate local leadership from the community to “help maintain cultural identity within each of the minority groups,” to help smooth over these jealousies. Churchill, he argued, was not the only community in the North which faced the “task of dealing with the problem of minority groups.” Preserving Aboriginal identity and pride, he felt, was a critical role Scouting, through its special proficiency badges, could play in solving the problems of social and cultural divisions in mixed northern communities such as Churchill.⁸²⁰

Some Jamboree organizers, unlike those who expressed misgivings about the possible bad press or negative impressions of northern development that could be created by holding the Jamboree in Churchill, actually sought to include these neighbourhoods as part of the Jamboree experience. In addition to the various Inuit and indigenous games that were planned as part of the on-site activities of the Churchill Jamboree, local officials integrated the Inuit and Dene villages into sight-seeing itineraries.⁸²¹ These villages were also listed in materials sent to Scouts attending the Jamboree as part of the sites to see in and around Churchill.⁸²² Though there appears to have been little promotional efforts organized around visits to these sites during the Jamboree itself, the organizational report to the federal government’s Travel and Exchange Program listed, amongst the many program activities of the week, “visits to local points of interest including the Churchill Rocket Range, the Eskimo museum, the Indian Village of Dene, the Eskimo Village of Akudlik, Fort Prince of Wales, the Churchill Harbour and Elevators, and

⁸²⁰ Ibid.

⁸²¹ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 5, Northern Scouting, General, 2nd Arctic and Northern Jamboree, 1970, Sgt. J.P.R. Beaudette to Carr, January 29, 1970.

⁸²² LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 6, Northern Scouting, General, 2nd Arctic and Northern Jamboree, 1970, “A Letter from the Jamboree Camp Chief, Major-General W.K. Carr,” April 8, 1970; Press release, May 26, 1970.

the town of Churchill.”⁸²³ Scout and government records reveal no information about how many took advantage of the opportunity to tour these areas, but given the misgivings expressed by some local Scout leaders, it was unlikely to be a centrepiece of sightseeing activity.

The Royal Tour and the Churchill Jamboree

One of the main highlights of the Churchill Jamboree, at least for organizers and the national media, was the visit of the Queen and the Royal Family. The Royal Tour of Churchill and the Jamboree site exposed the gulf between an idealized North and its challenging realities in stark contrast. Their two hour visit to Churchill, part of a centennial tour of both the Northwest Territories and Manitoba, was the first by a reigning monarch to the Canadian North. Marked by a visit to Fort Prince of Wales by young Prince Charles and the Duke of Edinburgh, and capped by a tour of the harbour, the visit’s main item was a visit to the Jamboree, where the Queen presided over the official opening ceremonies (see Figure 7). Though their tour of Churchill lasted but a few hours, the national and local press commented briefly on the Jamboree as part of its coverage of the Royal Tour. Scouts, Cubs, Brownies and Guides had been fixtures along the many Royal walkabouts in communities in the Northwest Territories and Manitoba.⁸²⁴ An article in the *Winnipeg Free Press* described the anxious crowd which awaited the arrival of the Royal Family in Churchill, lining the route from the airfield to the nearby Jamboree site. The reporter covering the event described how many of the locals who had turned out to greet the Queen agreed with the decision to have the Royal party go directly to the Jamboree site, skirting The Flats, an area described in the article as “a cluster of shed-like homes huddled against the Churchill River. Inhabited mainly by Indians and mixed breeds, the depressed area has been a

⁸²³ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 19, Folder 8, Northern Scouting, General, 2nd Arctic and Northern Jamboree, 1970, Report: 2nd Arctic and Northern Boy Scout Jamboree, December 3, 1970.

⁸²⁴ For example, see Dennis Lee, “Spacious North Allows Royal Informality,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 9, 1970; Betty Lee, “Eskimos crowd Frobisher airport to greet Royal Family,” *Globe and Mail*, July 6, 1970.

sore spot to many residents. ‘They’re just shacks; the people there don’t even own the land they’re sitting on, but she (the Queen) might as well have a look,’ said Mr. Yard “She has no choice in that,” said his wife. “But they (the Indians) seem to like it down there. They’re happy.” The article abandoned this discussion of the eyesores of Churchill to focus on the visit of the Royals to the Jamboree site and the hundreds of boys who crowded around them, as well as the young Prince of Wales’ visit to the centuries old remnants of the British presence in the region, Fort Prince of Wales. In typical fashion, media coverage of the Royal visit to the Jamboree focused on the crowds, the brief exchanges between shy Scouts and members of the Royal Family and the ever-present nuisance of black flies and mosquitoes.⁸²⁵



Figure 7 – Jamboree Chief Major-General William Carr escorting the Queen at Churchill Jamboree. Source: “Random Glimpses of a Royal Tour,” *Canadian Forces Sentinel*, Vol. 6, no. 9 (Oct. 1970), 20.

⁸²⁵ For examples of the coverage of the Royal Family’s visit to the Churchill, see Betty Lee, “Royal Family begins busy visit to Manitoba,” *Globe and Mail*, July 11, 1970; Dave Stockand, “Charles sees ‘Wales’ Fort,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 11, 1970; Stephen Riley, “Queen Belongs to Manitoba,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 11, 1970.

The Royal Family's tour of the Northwest Territories and Manitoba (see Figure 8) was part of a larger strategy to assert Canadian sovereignty in the North. In addition to the symbolic nature of Canada's head of state visiting the furthest reaches of the country, the Queen also reiterated the federal government's commitment to protect Canadian Arctic waters through recently announced anti-pollution legislation. During her stopover in Yellowknife, the Queen made a nationally-broadcast speech on the importance of protecting Arctic waters from pollution. After noting that the North had long been marked by various races of men working together in harmony, she argued that "It is not men alone who must work with one another, but we must think of animals, rivers, lakes, trees, even plants, for they all contribute to a homogenous whole. Everything in this world has its role to play if we are to continue to advance in peace and harmony."⁸²⁶ The Queen's speech was seen as an aggressive statement of a Canadian claim over the Arctic vis-a-vis a perceived American incursion, coming shortly on the heels of the *Manhattan* crisis. In response to the first incursion of the *Manhattan* into Arctic waters Canadian claimed as their own, the federal government announced stiff anti-pollution regulations for Canadian Arctic waters, a central element of the Trudeau government's strategy for asserting its sovereignty in the Arctic.⁸²⁷

⁸²⁶ "Showing the Flag," *Globe and Mail*, July 11, 1970.

⁸²⁷ Gerard McNeil, "Queen Urges Care in Use of Northlands," *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 10, 1970; George Bain, "A Royal Tour Chronicle (VIII)," *Globe and Mail*, July 14, 1970; "Queen Elizabeth joins her pioneers," *Globe and Mail*, 4 July, 1970; "Showing the Flag," *Globe and Mail*, July 11, 1970. The *Manhattan*, an American oil tanker, had sailed the Northwest Passage the previous summer, setting off a tense period of debate about Canadian sovereignty over the Northwest Passage. For more on the *Manhattan* Crisis and the Trudeau government's approach to Arctic sovereignty in this period, see Christopher C. Kirkey, "The Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Initiatives: Canada's Response to an American Challenge," *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 13 (March 1996):41-59.

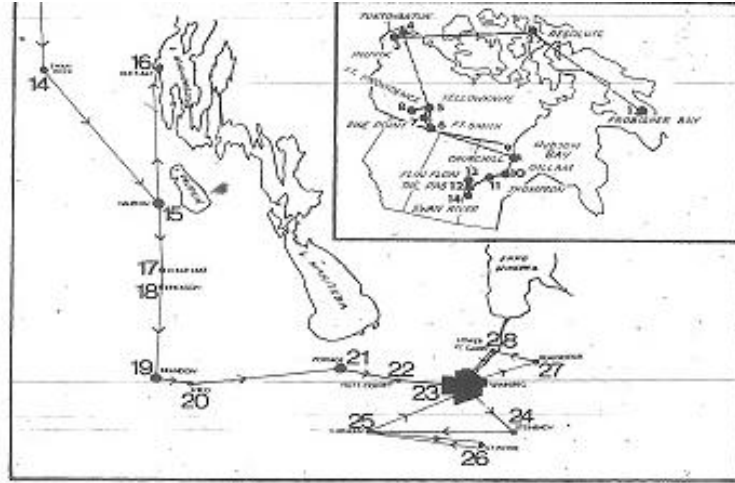


Figure 8 - Map of the Queen's Tour of the Northwest Territories and Manitoba, 1970.
Source: *Winnipeg Free Press*, July 4, 1970.

That the Queen would highlight the government's agenda for pollution prevention and sovereignty in the Arctic in a public speech was indicative of the symbolic politics at play in the Arctic. The *Globe and Mail's* editorial board acknowledged as much in an editorial praising her Yellowknife speech as, "an elegant and graceful means of saying that the North is Canada's and Canada will cherish it: United States and international oil companies, please take note. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, unlike some members of his Cabinet, quite evidently knows the value of the monarchy as a symbol: and throughout her arduous tour the Queen delivered."⁸²⁸ Her visit to the Northern and Arctic Jamboree in Churchill must therefore be seen in the light of the agenda of expansion and sovereignty in the North. In that same editorial, the *Globe's* editors argued that the Royal tour helped many Canadians learn "a lot of things about our country that few of us had known before, about its vastness and its quaintness and its solitudes and its splendors. We got, through the camera's eye and the reporters' words, a glimpse of the fresh and frosty frontier we are determined to defend."⁸²⁹

⁸²⁸ "Showing the Flag," *Globe and Mail*, July 11, 1970.

⁸²⁹ *Ibid.*

Conclusion

The Arctic Jamborees were a short-lived phenomenon; the creation of a Northwest Territories Scout Council (discussed in the previous chapter) in 1970 led to a series of “territorial” camps instead of the more ambitious Arctic Jamborees.⁸³⁰ Planners of the Arctic Jamborees in 1968 and 1970 had aimed to do more than provide boys with an imagined glimpse of the “fresh and frosty frontier” in the North; they wanted Scouts from south and north to meet, camp and play together. The “North” that they sought to present to Scouts was a modern one, exemplifying Canadian ingenuity and progress in developing her resource-rich northern hinterlands. They also sought to craft an experience for northern and southern boys which would solidify their knowledge of the other cultural and geographic solitude while building better future citizens. In the case of Aboriginal and Inuit Scouts, both government and Scout officials hoped that the Jamboree would strengthen government and Scout efforts to bolster indigenous leadership in the North, while they also hoped that boys from southern Canada would gain a better appreciation of the North’s importance in Canada’s future. For northern Inuit Scouts, therefore, this would mean a trip to the “urban” centres of Yellowknife and Churchill, their “first” experience of boreal forest, and a chance to meet and interact with boys from the Canadian south. Jamboree organizers also hoped to give Canadian boys from urban centres in the south a taste of Canada’s northern frontier, albeit a very modern one. Visits to nearby mine sites, rocket ranges, northern service centres, along with northern camping, the northern lights and camping and playing with Inuit and Aboriginal Scouts, were all meant to connect southern boys with the modern North. This blend of the modern (the emphasis on the development and industrialization of the North) and more primitive (learning Inuit and Aboriginal crafts, seeing

⁸³⁰ LAC, BSC, MG28 I73, Vol. 20, Folder 8, Northern Scouting - General; 1st Northwest Territories Jamboree (1973), 1972, Boy Scouts of Canada, Northwest Territories Council, Annual Report, 1972, 5-7.

the geographic north etc.) was also reflected in the journey of Scouts to and from the jamborees, as military and commercial aircraft, northern rail service, bush planes, and “Eskimo canoes” brought boys to the jamborees.

While organizers and government officials described the potential effects of the jamborees in lofty terms, it is difficult to measure the impact a week of camping in the North had on many of the participants. Aside from the occasional short quote in the sporadic media coverage of the two Jamborees, there is little contemporaneous record of boys’ impressions of the activities and impact of those weeks spent camping in Yellowknife and Churchill. What is clear, however, is the deliberate attempt by the Scout movement to breathe new life into northern nationalism. The attempt to blend modern and antimodern impulses in the Arctic Jamborees papered over the harsher realities of life for northern indigenous peoples and the persistent paternalism of the planners of the Jamborees, both in government and within Scouting. By identifying the Jamborees, and Scouting, as an ideal vehicle for strengthening indigenous leadership in the North, government officials and Scout leaders ignored other indigenous forms of leadership, and relied on a uniquely southern definition of “character” when describing how Scouting and the Jamborees might assist Aboriginals and Inuit living communities like Churchill or Yellowknife. They avoided, or distorted, the difficulties faced by northern indigenous peoples in the North as a result of the wave of industrial, military and welfare state expansion in the region. Scouting and government officials used the Jamborees to foster an “idea of North” disconnected from local realities, but wedded to northern nationalist priorities and aspirations at a time when Arctic sovereignty and the North itself was under increasing scrutiny.

Conclusion

The late 1960s and early 1970s witnessed significant changes to the Boy Scout programme as the movement sought to maintain its membership strength in the face of a baby boom generation coming into adulthood. A program review in 1968 created a new age category - Venturers - within the Scout branch for boys from fourteen to seventeen years old. This new grouping was created to separate younger teenage boys from older teenage boys in the hopes of retaining older boys in the movement.⁸³¹ In 1971, meanwhile, a new movement for younger boys (five to seven years old) - Beavers - was created in Winnipeg in order to recruit boys at a younger age and, leaders hoped, to strengthen their interest in staying in the movement once they reached adolescence.⁸³² Beavers quickly surpassed the Venturers in popularity; in the 1970s the majority of Scouting's boy membership was concentrated in the Cub and Beaver programme, reflecting the ongoing challenge faced by Scouting to attract and retain the interest of older boys.⁸³³ The Scout movement hit its peak strength in the mid 1960s and has since shrunk in size from a peak youth membership of 288,084 youth in the mid-60s to 66,741 in 2013-2014.⁸³⁴

Francophone Scout officials faced similar challenges in the late 1960s and early 1970s. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Les Scouts Catholiques du Canada changed the name of the organization to l'Association des Scouts du Canada (ASC), dropping the "Catholic" portion of their title, though they remained nominally a movement devoted to Catholic Scouting. Like the Boy Scout Association, the ASC went through a series of pedagogical and program reforms

⁸³¹ Boy Scouts of Canada, *Scouts 68* (Boy Scouts of Canada National Council: Ottawa, 1968).

⁸³² Bonhomme, "In Step With Canada's Future," 155-156.

⁸³³ Liam Morland, "Membership Retention in Scout Troops," Paper presented at the 2007 World Scout Scientific Conference, Geneva, http://scoutdocs.ca/Membership_Retention/wosm-membership-retention.pdf (accessed on December 12, 2014), 1-6.

⁸³⁴ Figures from Morland, "Membership Retention in Scout Troops," 1; Scouts Canada, Annual Report 2013-2014, <http://www.scouts.ca/sites/default/files/2013-14-annual-report-final-web.pdf> (accessed December 12, 2014), 15. Removing the Beaver membership (which did not exist in 1965) lowers that number to 49,148.

meant to reorient the program on a more “boy centred” axis. They also added new programs such as “les pionniers” (for older boys aged fifteen to seventeen) and “les castors” (the equivalent of Beavers) in order to try attract new members and to retain older teens.⁸³⁵ Furthermore, political changes in Quebec appeared to have once again forced a re-evaluation of the relationship between the ASC and the Boy Scouts. For instance, new youth funding regulations in Quebec, which limited grant programs to associations that operated solely in Quebec, barred the ASC from important government revenues.⁸³⁶ In 1976, mere weeks before the historic election of the separatist Parti Québécois government of René Lévesque, ASC executives in Quebec challenged their colleagues to reconsider their relationship with English-Canadian Scouting and to push for a more autonomous status both within Canada and internationally:

Les francophones ont atteint une maturité les plaçant au même pied d'égalité que leurs confrères de langue anglaise et il faut que toute cette stratégie de développement de l'A.S.C. sur le plan national mène progressivement mais, à l'intérieur d'une sagesse certaine, vers une représentation internationale qui est indispensable à l'épanouissement de toute notre collectivité.⁸³⁷

The spirit of unity of 1967 had been short-lived; the tensions and shifts in the relationship between French and English Canadian Scouting in light of declining enrolment and the changing federal political scene offer many compelling avenues for future research.

French-Canadian Scout leaders also worried about changing youth culture in the post-baby boom era. At the 1973 annual meeting of the ASC, for instance, a discussion document titled “Vers 1980,” described what it saw as changing youth values and how these would force Scouting to adjust its programming yet again: “Vu que les jeunes d'aujourd'hui ne prêtent que peu d'attention aux frontières morales, nationales ou autres, notre mouvement doit lui-même

⁸³⁵ Boudreau, “Le chef scout canadien-français,” 4.

⁸³⁶ BANQ, Fédération des Scouts du Québec, P189, Vol. 21, File 8.4.1, Boy Scouts of Canada, Correspondance, Bernard Daigneault, Commissaire général à Percy Ross, 30 septembre, 1975.

⁸³⁷ BANQ, Fédération des Scouts du Québec, P189, Vol. 2, File 1.2.5, Association des Scouts du Canada, Comités permanents, Conseil Général canadien des Scouts et des Guides, “L'Association des Scouts du Canada: Relations extérieures (document de travail, confidentiel),” 13 octobre, 1976, 6.

acquérir un esprit plus fortement international et donner un exemple d'unité mondiale [...] La jeunesse d'aujourd'hui ne reconnaît pas les barrières artificielles dressées par ses aînés.”⁸³⁸

Similarly, Boy Scout executives worried about yet another social and technological challenge, which they labelled “cybernation,” to modern boys.⁸³⁹ The increasing automation of the worlds of work and leisure - symbolized this time by the rise of the computer - worried these Scout executives, who connected this technological change to broader shifts in youth culture. They worried about the next generation of men, “Unless society summons the will and imagination to alter itself to the rhythms of a new kind of technology, the next generation may grow up with nothing much to do but loaf.”⁸⁴⁰

Robert Baden Powell’s turn of the century worries about modern boys continued to echo well after his death. As Christopher Greig points out, social concerns about boys and manhood continue to work their way into public debates over education and culture in Canada to this day.⁸⁴¹ Scouting no longer claims to address this modern “boy crisis”; the movement moved to an optional co-educational stream in 1992 and became fully co-educational in 1998, eventually dropping the “Boy” in the organizational title to become Scouts Canada.⁸⁴² The Girl Guides, however, chose to remain closed to boys; in 1998 a Girl Guide spokesperson argued that Guiding continued to give girls “the role models they need.”⁸⁴³ The Scout movement’s various mutations and eventual transformation in the post-baby boom era into a co-educational movement is worthy of future study, particularly in comparison to the Girl Guide movement’s decision to remain staunchly unisex in its programming. What drove Scouting’s coalition of boosters to

⁸³⁸ BANQ, Fédération des Scouts du Québec, P189, Vol. 4, File. 1.8.0, Publications de l’A.S.C., Général, Association des Scouts du Canada, assises annuelles, Ottawa, 12-13 mai, 1973, 3-4.

⁸³⁹ Cited in Bonhomme, “In Step With Canada’s Future,” 150.

⁸⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁸⁴¹ Greig, *Ontario Boys*, 101-120.

⁸⁴² Nicolas van Rijn, “Not Just for the Boys: Scouts Canada Finally Goes Co-Ed,” *Toronto Star*, November 24, 1992, A1, A19; “Sign of the Times,” *Globe and Mail*, September 8, 1998, A5.

⁸⁴³ “Boy Scouts to go Co-ed Nationally,” *Toronto Star*, September 8, 1998, A12.

make such changes? What explains the shift away from a singular focus on boys to a more general concern with youth? Some of the answers likely lie in analyzing the shifting demographics of the period; the “graduation” of the baby boom into adulthood and the growing range of youth spaces in the late 1960s and onwards are likely key factors. Changing attitudes within Scouting’s central leadership and the many institutional supporters of Scouting also likely played key roles.

In spite of the decline in membership since the 1970s, the Canadian Boy Scout movement was one of the largest organizations of Canadian boys throughout most of the twentieth century. While a number of Canadian historians have drawn on the movement to contribute to broader studies of imperialism, militarism and masculinity, there has yet to be a deliberate effort to assess the movement’s support base and how it changed over time. This dissertation addressed this *lacuna* by considering some of the key institutions and individuals that supported the movement in order to examine a variety of social concerns about the future of Canadian manhood. New studies can build on this research in taking a more localized, targeted approach in order to assess how these visions of boyhood played out in specific contexts, both from the perspective of local leadership and through the voices of young Scouts and Cubs. This project provides a framework for such further research in arguing that the Canadian Boy Scout movement was a key institution in the construction of multiple Canadian boyhoods. Fundamental to this argument is the notion that Scouting’s key supporters had multiple visions of boyhood in mind, creating a range of constructed boyhoods bounded by considerations of faith, race and nation. A common interest in shaping masculinity tied these various concerns together. The perceived importance of building boys to build the nation, then, was a unifying force, but one that could and did reflect important racial, linguistic and religious differences.

Over the course of the twentieth century the Scout movement influenced broader discussions about boys' religious lives. It acted both as a model to emulate and, at times, competed with boys' work within Canadian churches. This dissertation argued that the relationship between Scouting and Canadian churches reflects the uneven nature of the process of secularization in Canada, an important contribution to existing scholarship on the issue. The muscular Christianity of Baden Powell's "Religion of the Backwoods" was part of a broader response within Canadian religious circles to the changes wrought by modernity – urbanization, technological change, changing work patterns and new ideas of childhood and adolescence – which fundamentally changed how many church leaders and social reformers conceived of religious education, particularly for boys. Scout and religious leaders shared the conception of early adolescence as a particularly key time for fostering boys' religious faith. They also worried that traditional areas of religious education such as Sunday School had become too 'feminine' and that modern urban life threatened the moral growth of many of the nation's boys.

Scouting was not, however, immediately universally popular amongst religious leaders in Canada. The United Church, for instance, held onto the belief that their own boys' movements, with similar programming as Scouting, could match its popularity, in spite of evidence to the contrary. Many Protestant churches lacked the resources to fully support boys' movements and, by the late 1930s, even the United Church had come to an uneasy truce with Scouting. French-Canadian Catholic leaders, meanwhile, had their own suspicions about the utility of Scouting. As noted in Chapter 1, the adoption of Scouting in some French-Canadian parishes in Ottawa was viewed with some consternation by French-Canadian Catholic leaders. For them, Scouting's popularity also posed a potential threat to their boys as the movement was seen as too imperialist and too Protestant. The movement's popularity, however, forced their hand, and they eventually

adapted the Scout movement to fit their own nationalist and religious needs. Cardinal Villeneuve's change of heart towards the movement in the 1930s was symptomatic of this shift, and he - along with Lionel Groulx - played a central role in creating the Fédération des Scout Catholiques in Quebec. Their adaptation of the Scout program adhered to many of the same antimodernist tenets as Scouting in English-speaking Canada, a connection that is rarely made in Canadian historiography. Baden-Powell's "religion of the backwoods," though not articulated as such by all religious educators, united them in their work with boys. Its attractiveness lay in the promise of bringing boys out of the Sunday Schools and into a more active and muscular setting – namely into the outdoors - as well as its focus on teaching Canadian boys about the muscular and rugged heroes of their Christian past in order to encourage them to see religion as something that all modern men needed to achieve full manhood.

The Second World War and the broader social worries it triggered on the home front - absent fathers, working mothers and growing fears of juvenile delinquency - spurred broader concern about boyhood, especially in the transition to peace. It also invigorated public discussion and concern about restoring a broader social and moral order in peace time. This public enthusiasm for domestic and public stability persisted through much of the 1950s and started to wane in the 1960s, but it was not a tale of steady decline. The combination of the demographic bulge of the baby boom and broader concerns about declining religiosity proved a powerful stimulus for cooperation as even previously ambivalent denominations like the United Church chose to ally themselves more closely with the Scout movement. This strengthened alliance undoubtedly helped sustain Scouting's pride of place as the largest boys' movement in the country through much of the 1960s, though the ongoing weakness of the Scout movement relative to the younger Cub movement continued to be the organization's Achilles' heel as the

baby boom reached adolescence. This alliance between the churches and Scouting supplements a growing body of scholarship which challenges the declensionist secularization narrative in describing Canada's postwar experience.

The postwar period was also marked by important changes in French-English relations in Canada, a complex dialogue shaped by changing French-Canadian Catholic identity and English-Canadian efforts to sustain, sometimes forcefully, a unitary sense of national identity. Cardinal Villeneuve's determination to bring Scouting fully under ecclesiastical control in the 1930s by creating La Fédération effectively cut off French-Canadian troops outside of Quebec from institutional connection to their brethren in Quebec. French-Canadian Scout leaders outside of Quebec, led largely by a group of nationalist Catholic bishops and supported offstage by the secretive Ordre de Jacques Cartier, pushed throughout the postwar period to renew ties with La Fédération. In Ottawa, this was achieved through the forceful separation of French-Canadian Scouts from the Boy Scout Association in 1946 and the eventual compromise of allowing French-Canadian Scouts in Ottawa to join La Fédération. While the Ottawa episode was shaped by an occasionally uneasy alliance between lay and religious leaders,⁸⁴⁴ efforts to reunite French-Canadian Scouting in other regions with La Fédération were led largely by a group of nationalist Catholic bishops, particularly Archbishop Maurice Baudoux in Saint-Boniface, Manitoba.

A push by predominantly Western-Canadian bishops in the late 1950s to reunite with La Fédération led to the creation of l'Association des Scouts Catholiques du Canada (ASC) and prolonged discussions with the Boy Scout Association about the structure of Scouting in Canada. These discussions provide new insights into the changing nature of French-Canadian identity in the 1960s. In spite of the rise of a more Quebec-based territorial nationalism, French-Canadian identity continued to hold traction for many French-Canadians inside and outside of Quebec.

⁸⁴⁴ Pigeon, "Providence, nationalisme et obligation sociale," 65-76.

Instead of a total “rupture” in identity, as is often posited about the 1960s, we should consider instead the period as one of continuity and change. Negotiations between the ASC and the Boy Scout Association in the mid-1960s also reveal compelling tensions within English-Canadian Scout leadership about how best to handle this new reality. Their internal debate echoed broader discussions within English Canada about the place of Quebec within the federation and reveals regional and personal divisions over the rise of a more autonomous French-Canadian nationalism. Their ultimate compromise with the ASC in 1967 shows that the spirit of flexible federalism of the 1960s won out over more hard-line wishes to maintain a united and centralized Scout movement. This vigorous and, at times, acrimonious debate in the 1960s also reflected the continued concern both within French-Canadian and English-Canadian circles for boyhood and its broader significance for national unity and growth.

Beyond attracting religious leaders and nationalists in both English and French Canada to the movement, Scouting was also adopted by those working within the residential schooling system. Teachers, missionaries and administrators felt that the Scout movement provided both an opportunity to reconnect Aboriginal children with what were assumed to be “traditional” indigenous skills and aptitudes while simultaneously providing an opportunity to reinforce the assimilative and Christianizing aims of the residential school project. It was under this colonialist framework that the Scout movement expanded into the Canadian North during the interwar period. From the 1920s to the late 1960s, Scouting’s presence in the North shifted from a movement incorporated into the education and promotional work of missionaries, the RCMP and the Hudson’s Bay Company, to an integral part of a more robust postwar federal policy marked by increased intervention in the lives of northern Aboriginals and Inuit.

This more concerted effort to expand Scouting in Canada's northern regions - supported by the federal government - was marked by attempts to modify the Scout program to meet federal objectives for northern development. Inuit and northern Aboriginal boyhoods were part of broader discussions about the future of the North, and the Arctic and Northern Scouting program of the late 1950s and 1960s reflected the mixed assessment of what this future might hold for the region's indigenous population. In the words of one federal official, the objective of the revised Scout program was "to make the best of the two ways of life," by preserving certain elements of indigenous skills and culture while preparing boys for life in the modern North.⁸⁴⁵ Special Arctic proficiency badges exemplified this "modernizing antimodernist" approach as federal and Scout officials worked to train northern boys in proper hygiene and snowmobile use while also preserving selected traditional practices.

The development of these badges within the special northern Scout program demonstrates that, during a time when high modernism is assumed to have dominated northern policy thinking, antimodernist concerns continued to influence northern and Scout officials. This "assimilating antimodernism" worked within the larger high modernist framework of federal northern policy. Racialized notions about indigenous intelligence and leadership capacity shaped northern Canadian nationalist beliefs that Scouting could preserve selected skills and traditions and instill leadership skills in order to end "dependence" on government assistance programs - the same programs which had been used to force northern populations into settled communities. Though there were some church and federal officials who sought to further adapt the program to suit local conditions and cultural needs, northern Scouting officials failed to include local indigenous leadership in this development process, either because they believed no "suitable"

⁸⁴⁵ LAC, Northern Affairs, RG 85, Series D-1-a , Accession 1997-98/076 , Box 126, File : 660-7, Part 9, Boy Scouts Association, 1968-1970, Mortlock to Alex Stevenson, January 5, 1970, attachment : Letter to Eskimo Parents (draft).

local leadership could be found, or that no local leaders were enthusiastic about the movement. This failure to engage local indigenous leadership also manifested itself in the absence of indigenous voices within Northern Scouting sources; this was a program designed by whites for northern communities, rather than *with* them. This is likely a large reason why the Arctic and Northern Scout program failed to flourish as many had hoped by the 1970s.

Scouting's efforts in the North also included attempts to bring northern experiences to southern Canadian boys. In the interwar period this consisted of awarding exceptional Scouts the opportunity to travel aboard Eastern Arctic Patrol expeditions or HBC shipping vessels. In the 1960s, Scouting, in partnership with the federal government, organized two Arctic Jamborees in Yellowknife and Churchill. The Jamborees offered multiple "ideas of north" which organizers marshalled for varying objectives. These included bringing Inuit and Aboriginal Scouts into contact with the "modern" North in two northern industrial centres, as well as using the more traditional geographic idea of North as leaders sought to expose southern Canadian boys to physical and cultural elements of a more antimodernist Northern nationalism.

The Jamborees themselves exemplified Scouting's "modernizing antimodernism" that persisted well into the 1960s. Jamboree event planning and promotion ranged from boasting about the military aircraft used to bring Inuit boys to camps (for some, their first flight) and organizing tours of local mines and military rocket ranges to noting the awe-inspiring experience many boys shared at the camps; both locations allowed for northern boys to get a taste of more southern climes and industrial activity, while for southern boys both Churchill and Yellowknife were framed as distinctly northern experiences on the edge of the Arctic. In addition to planned activities for the boys, the Churchill Jamboree also featured a high profile visit from Queen Elizabeth II, a first visit to the Canadian Arctic by a Canadian monarch. The Royal Family's visit

was staged to emphasize the legacy of British exploration in the region and to emphasize Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic, while skirting more controversial areas of Churchill which exemplified the ongoing challenges faced by the community's indigenous population. These, then, were carefully crafted and controlled expressions of different "ideas of north."

This dissertation has explored the various ideas and concerns about Canadian boyhood that inspired the supporters of Canadian Scouting throughout much of the twentieth century. It argued that, as part of the frequent renewal of masculinities, Scouting and its supporters embraced the modern and the antimodern in order to shore up, revive, or reinvigorate masculinities that were deemed to be threatened. These masculinities were informed by concerns about secularization, race, and national identities and were marshalled in order to address broader concerns about modernity and nation. Indeed, the various strategies and motivations for supporting Scouting described here exemplify the ongoing conflation of masculinity with nation. It takes Christopher Dummitt's argument that manhood continued to occupy "a privileged position" as a shaper of national identities and extends it to boyhood.⁸⁴⁶ Fears about youth, and boyhood more specifically, as Christopher Greig and Cynthia Comacchio have argued, were fundamentally connected to broader concerns about national identity in the postwar period.⁸⁴⁷

This study takes these assertions as an entry point to a careful consideration of the Scout movement's network of institutional and cultural support throughout most of the twentieth century. This network of support - from the federal government to various churches and nationalists in both French and English Canada - helped sustain the strength of the movement while injecting it with many ideas of boyhood. These visions of what boys needed to grow up to

⁸⁴⁶ Dummitt, *The Manly Modern*, 158.

⁸⁴⁷ Greig, *Ontario Boys*, x-xi; Comacchio, *Dominion of Youth*, 214.

be responsible men were not always complementary and reflected broader religious, linguistic and racial assumptions and expectations. They were, however, tied together by a shared desire to mitigate the perceived “feminizing” effects of urban, modern life through a modernizing antimodernism. Masculinity’s ties to political and social citizenship remained strong well into the 1960s as Scouting’s coalition of supporters sustained the belief that building better boys was the key to building a better Canada.

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Appendix A: Promise and Law of the Éclaireurs canadiens-français⁸⁴⁸

Promesse

Sur mon honneur, avec la grâce de Dieu, je m'engage :

A servir de mon mieux Dieu, l'Église et la patrie,

A rendre service au prochain

A observer la loi des Éclaireurs

Loi

1. L'Éclaireur pratique fièrement sa religion et lui reste fidèle dans tous les actes de sa vie. Il est pur dans ses pensées, ses paroles et ses actions.
2. L'Éclaireur canadien-français aime son pays, tout spécialement le Canada français. Il est fier de ses origines, fidèle au passé, confiant dans l'avenir de sa nation. Il aime sa langue et s'efforce de la bien connaître et de la parler correctement.
3. L'Éclaireur met son honneur à mériter confiance. Il est ponctuel, soigneux dans les détails, constant dans ses entreprises, régulier dans ses habitudes.
4. L'Éclaireur est l'ami de tous, surtout des Éclaireurs. Il cherche à se rendre utile et secourt volontiers son prochain, même au sacrifice de ses goûts.
5. L'Éclaireur est courtois et chevaleresque, droit dans ses intentions, franc dans ses paroles, fidèle à ses promesses, distingué dans sa tenue et ses manières. Il évite les jurons, les mots grossières, la fourberie, l'impolitesse.
6. L'Éclaireur aime la nature et voit Dieu partout dans l'univers. Il observe les personnes, les lieux, les animaux, les plantes.
7. L'Éclaireur obéit sans réplique et ne fait rien à moitié. Il se soumet volontiers à ses parents et à ses supérieurs. Le devoir de l'Éclaireur commence à la maison.
8. L'Éclaireur est courageux. Il sourit et chante dans ses difficultés.
9. L'Éclaireur est économe, travailleur, respectueux du bien d'autrui. Il aime s'instruire et développe toutes ses aptitudes. Il se prépare à devenir un bon citoyen.
10. L'Éclaireur est propre. Il observe les lois de l'hygiène et prend soin de sa santé. Il prévient les accidents et veille à la sécurité des autres.

⁸⁴⁸

Taken from "À propos d'Éclaireurs" *L'Action française*, octobre, 1926, 220-225.

Appendix B: Scout Promise and Scout Law⁸⁴⁹

The Scout Promise:

On my honour I promise that I will do my best,
To do my duty to God and the King,
To help other people at all times,
To obey the Scout Law.

The Scout Law

- 1) A Scout's honour is to be trusted.
- 2) A Scout is loyal to the King, his country, his officers, his parents, his employers, and to those under him.
- 3) A Scout's duty is to be useful and to help others.
- 4) A Scout is a friend to all and a brother to every other Scout.
- 5) A Scout is courteous.
- 6) A Scout is a friend to animals.
- 7) A Scout obeys orders of his parents, Patrol Leader, or Scoutmaster without question.
- 8) A Scout smiles and whistles under all difficulties.
- 9) A Scout is thrifty.
- 10) A Scout is clean in thought, word and deed.

⁸⁴⁹ Taken from *Revised Handbook for Canada of the Boy Scouts Association* (Ottawa. Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 1930), ii-iii.